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The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE
REV. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Ph.D.,
AND THE REV. R. M. FRENCH, M.A.

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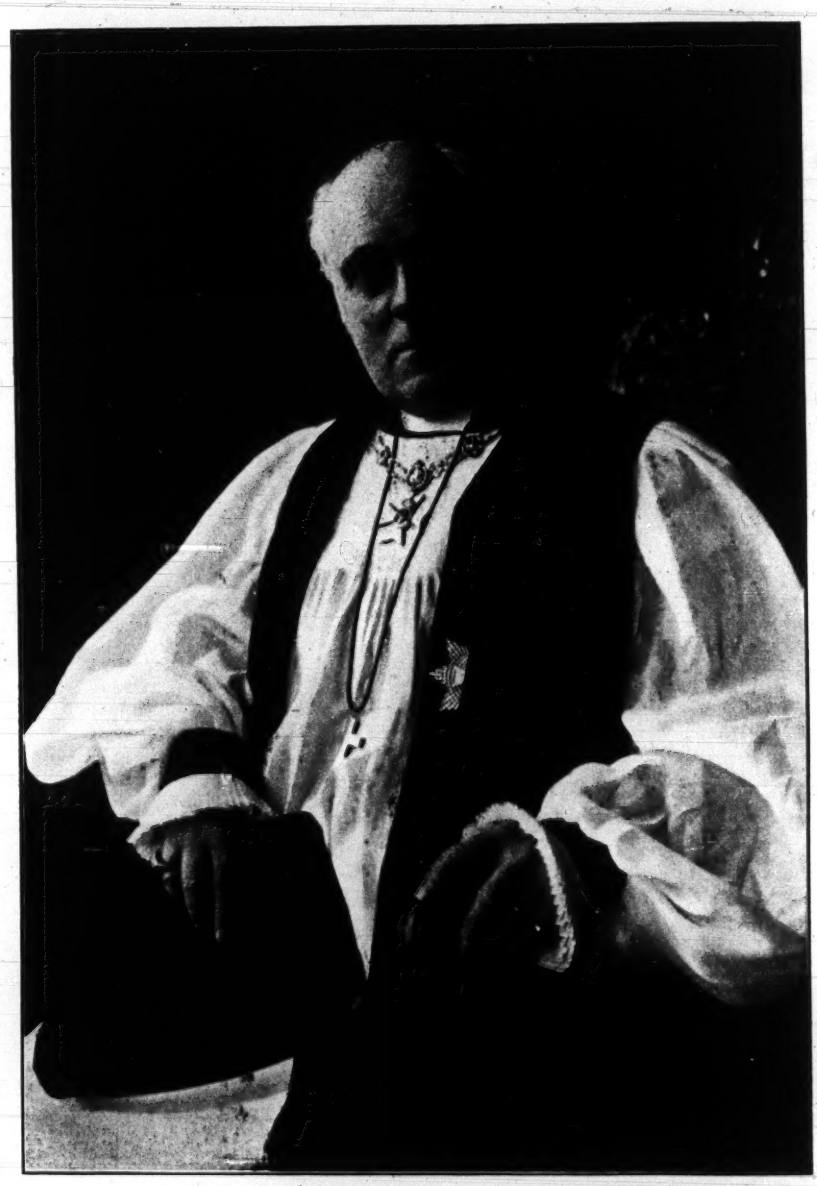


Randall Cantuar:

His Grace, Thomas Randall, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan.

SEPTEMBER, 1926.] [VOL. VII. No. 3

The Christian East

HIS GRACE, THOMAS RANDALL, LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN.

THAT our portrait of the month should be a photograph of the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by himself for *The Christian East*, will be held appropriate by all of us, and will be especially welcome to our Eastern readers. For of all workers for the cause of Reunion, and among all practical sympathizers with the suffering Christians of the Near East, no Anglican has rendered services comparable to those rendered by His Grace.

That to attempt a summary of the part which he has played in making history would be to undertake an epitome of the history of England and of her Church during the past fifty years would be obvious to anyone who opened *Who's Who*.

From his Oxford days, when first he visited Lambeth to find there his life's partner in the sister of his college friend and the daughter of that great Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Archibald Tait, there has been little in the English Church and State of or in which he has not had cognizance and intimate concern.

Graduating at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1871, and ordained in 1874—he kept his Jubilee two years ago—His Grace gained experience of life as a parish priest at Dartford, and then, in 1874, became Domestic Chaplain at Lambeth. A moment's reflection would lead anyone to conclude that, the Archbishop's Domestic Chaplain being in a measure his private secretary and needing to possess distinct qualifications of discretion, method and intuition, that office was a severe test and a great opportunity of service. That the present well-known efficiency of the bureau at Lambeth is largely due to the line which he himself laid down in the seventies, is very probable; at any rate, its efficiency no less than his extraordinary power of directing the details of its administration is the admiration of all who realize the complexity of the matters which are handled there, and which include in their scope the affairs of

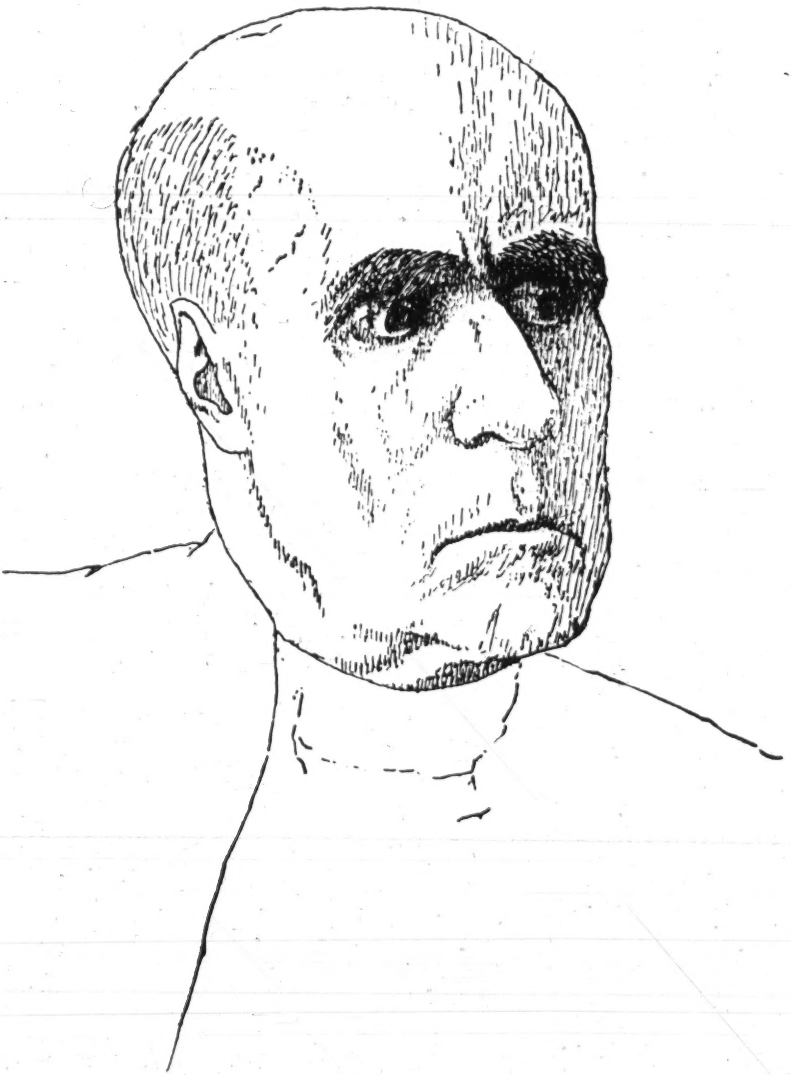
the world-wide Anglican Church, and of nearly every phase of British public life.

In 1883, having remained at Lambeth under Dr. Benson, Dr. Tait's successor at Canterbury, His Grace was chosen to be Dean of Windsor by Queen Victoria, who is recorded to have given him her fullest and most intimate confidence as a wise counsellor and beloved friend in both public and personal matters. His Grace thus began that close relationship with our Royal Family which has continued to the present.

In 1891, when (for England) at the early age of 43, he was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, everyone had realized his great zeal and ability and esteemed him ripe for the episcopate. In Rochester, as in the great and more important diocese of Winchester, whither he was translated in 1895, his rule was always wise and highly successful, though withal courageous and inspiring, so that in 1903 the public voice, as well as the decision of those whose knowledge justified their forming a judgment, pointed to him as the inevitable successor of Dr. Temple at Canterbury.

He has to-day reigned longer than all but eight of the ninety-five English Metropolitans who have preceded him on the Throne of St. Augustine and have held it, except for the vacancy under Cromwell's tyranny (1645-1660) in an unbroken line since 597 A.D., and longer than any since Archbishop Warham died in 1533. But apart from their actual number, the tale of the twenty-six years which have passed since his return as Primate to the Lambeth Palace of his youth, has been incomparable for its crowded history, both in their salient events and in their less noticed evolution of the life of our Church and Nation as of the World. Throughout their period he has laboured unceasingly, always with the consummate wisdom which makes far-seeing caution a first requisite for his high responsibility, but always also with the vision and the inspiration of a whole-hearted Christian. The debt which the English Church and Nation, and indeed the totality of World Christianity, owe to him is inestimable and will remain for its setting down to the writers of a future generation.

In the midst of weighty preoccupations and in spite of ceaseless administrative routine, the like of which have fallen upon few if any public men, he has never ceased to labour to create goodwill between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches. The part he took as far back as 1881 in dispatching the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrians, and his striking actions in the tragedies of the past decade, *e.g.*, his championship of the Armenians or that intervention of his which prevented the Patriarch Tikhon's murder in 1923, evidence unmistakably his lifelong affection for and interest in the Christians of the East.



AN IMPRESSION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, BY MR. POWYS EVANS.

Nothing of importance which happens in Eastern Christendom would appear to escape his attention and no Eastern visitor, from a Patriarch to a simple student at an English University, comes to London, but, with the help of Mrs Davidson's gracious hospitality, he finds time to welcome them at Lambeth Palace.

In 1926, though coming near to be of those fourscore years of which the ninetieth psalm speaks, he has become above controversy a national asset and a national pride. Men of every school and of every type trust him, look to him for leadership and for inspiration and stand amazed alike at the freshness of his zeal and vision and at the unabating activity with which he accomplishes the manifold tasks and duties which are upon him. This autumn he will be busy in directing the Revision of our Prayer Book and upon that reconstitution of much of our ecclesiastical machinery which the erection of our Church Assembly has made overdue and which bids fair to make these years epochal in our Church history. At the same time is upon him that forecast of the Lambeth Conference of 1930, among the achievements of which we and our Orthodox friends are hoping and labouring to reach the first stages of our formal Reunion.

That in the rich years which may still be before him he may be used to bring forth even larger fruits for God's Glory and Man's Good than he has been blessed already to harvest is the general prayer of Anglo-Saxon Christianity and in it with many others that great body of Eastern Christians who trust, revere and love him, join whole-heartedly.

THE PATRIARCH MELETIOS' ENTHRONISTIC TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE Patriarch Meletios II. of Alexandria, formerly Meletios IV. of Constantinople, addressed the letter, of which this is a translation, to the Archbishop of Canterbury in notification of his accession. There exists no precedent for an enthronistic from the head of an Orthodox Church to the chief bishop of a Church other than Orthodox. We append the Archbishop's reply.

To His Grace Randall Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Church of England, Meletios, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and of all Africa, Greeting in Christ Jesus, our God.

Exactly a year ago to-day Photios, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, in company with many other chief bishops of the Eastern and of the Western Churches, by joining with your Grace in West-

minster Abbey to commemorate the sixteenth centenary of the First Œcumenical Council of Nicæa, aroused general expectation among Orthodox and Anglicans as to the cause of their Reunion into one Flock under the One Shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ.

But at the very time when the Church of Alexandria awaited his arrival home from the West in order to hear from him his own account of the progress of the work of Reunion, it received only the grievous news of his departure from life, and, being widowed, laid him with his fathers. For the God of all spirits had taken suddenly his spirit to Himself that it might find rest in the Tabernacle of the Saints.

The Church of the Evangelist St. Mark being thus bereaved of its chief bishop and we having been called by God's condescension to succeed the Patriarch who has entered rest, we cannot express in words the comfort with which we received in Kephissia, on the day after our election, the telegram of congratulation in which your beloved Grace expressed your good will to us.

Accordingly, in forwarding this the first letter which we address to your Grace from the Apostolic Throne of Alexandria, in order, on account of the bond which exists between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, to acquaint you officially, as the Primate of the Church of England, with God's dispensation as to this Throne, our heart is filled with gladness. For not only do we rejoice to renew those personal bonds of affection which were begun between us when we were at Athens and Constantinople, but we are sensible of the vocation to carry on the work for Reunion enterprised by our great predecessor.

God grant us not to fall behind him either in intention or in that work which, indeed, is dear to Him.

Praying that God will grant your beloved Grace many years of health and work and will send down upon the people entrusted to your care His fullest blessing, we remain with great affection,

Your Grace's brother in Christ,

MELETIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Alexandria,
16/29 June, 1926.

Lambeth Palace,
17th July, 1926.

TO HIS BEATITUDE THE LORD MELETIOS, PATRIARCH AND POPE OF ALEXANDRIA, AND ŒCUMENICAL JUDGE, GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER AND OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

It is with the highest satisfaction that I have received the important letter which Your Beatitude was good enough to write to me in connection with your Enthronement in the great historic See—the Chair of St. Mark.

With a full heart I pray the Lord of all the Churches that you may be sustained day by day with all the strength and wisdom that are needed for the carrying forward of the duties of so great an office. Your Beatitude has been called thereto at a time of anxiety and difficulty in the life of the world.

We cherish in England the recollection of the visit paid to us by your venerated predecessor, the Lord Photios, and of the part which he took in our solemn commemorative service in Westminster Abbey as well as the counsel he gave to us both in England and in Scandinavia in connection with all that promotes the unity of the Churches of Christ upon earth. Your Beatitude has been called to succeed him, and we thank God that you will bring to the task now laid upon you the ripe experience and the varied knowledge with which a life of high responsibility and even adventure has endowed you for the good not of your own flock alone but of the Churches of Christ with which you are associated in fraternal bonds of love and concord.

Pray rest assured, my dear brother, that our prayers will be joined with your own in Alexandria that under the Guidance of the Divine Spirit the Kingdom of our Lord and Master may be enlarged and faith in His Gospel deepened in all lands wherewith we have to do in our daily life and work.

I have the honour to remain,
Your Beatitude's faithful brother and Servant
in Our Lord Jesus Christ,
RANDALL CANTUAR.

A Son's Blessing.

Usually the son asks for the father's blessing. But on this occasion it is the father who asked the son's blessing. The happy father, who is eighty-five years of age, kneeling from old age and deeply touched, asked his sixty-year-old son to bless him and give his benediction. This act happened the day when the news came to Athens, Greece, that His Holiness, the ex-Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Meletios, had been elected to the throne of Alexandria. The old man learned the good news of the election of his son quite late, took his turn in the line of those who were waiting, and kissed the hand of his son, asking him his blessing. And the Patriarch-son, handing his hand over to the father, said: "Have the blessing of the Church of Alexandria, my good father." And the old, happy peasant-father could not hide himself any more and shed his tears privately, as wherever he would move someone would follow him and congratulate him for giving to the Greek Orthodox Church such a son. A happy father, indeed, he is to live long enough to see his son as the spiritual head of the Church of Greece, the Œcumenical Patriarchate, and now the Church of Alexandria.—*The Living Church.*

BISHOP BURY'S LAST OFFICIAL TOUR.

ON May 10th I set out for Riga by the Riga-Ostende express, and had the unique experience of being the only passenger to leave that port, owing to the general strike in this country. Literally, though accompanied by our chaplain at Ostende, I was the only other person on that large platform. All the officials received me with interested and welcoming smiles, and one of the conductors called out at the end of the platform, " Here comes the traveller for Riga," at which summons the conductor for the through carriage for Riga came forward with smiles and bowed me into my *coupé* in the *wagon-lit*. I suppose such an exceptional experience will never come to one again.

I will only just touch upon matters that I think may be of general interest in connection with this Visitation, assuming that my readers will picture me as taking the usual services and Confirmations in each place visited. At Riga, however, the outstanding experience was my visit to the Orthodox Cathedral on the Saturday evening, where I addressed the congregation, accompanied by Archbishop John, and did my best to cheer and encourage them as usual. The great church was crowded to the doors, and everybody keenly interested in my message, when interpreted by a Russian friend. I also took part in the service, and blessed them from the altar steps, and as I left, and outside, there was a stirring scene which reminded me of the Kremlin in other days. The Archbishop came to dine with me at the Legation and, on the Sunday evening, after our own services, at which his two arch-priests had been present to represent him, as he could not leave his own Liturgy, I learned to my great amazement and abiding gratitude that my visit to them under the same circumstances and at a similar service a little more than two years ago had saved that Cathedral from being turned into a State museum. I could hardly believe that such a thing was possible, but he assured me it was so, and told me how the President had summoned him on the Monday morning and had asked the meaning and purpose of the English Bishop's visit to his Cathedral on the Saturday evening, and why I had not visited the Roman Catholic Archbishop, nor their own newly appointed Lutheran State Bishop. He had informed him, he said, that I had come on behalf of the Church of England, bringing messages from its clergy and laity of cheer and encouragement, and because of the long-standing friendly relations between our two Churches which had been so greatly strengthened by Anglican sympathy with the Orthodox Church in its time of travail and suffering. He told me this had made a great impression on the President and had, he repeated, saved his Cathedral. I took care, therefore, to call on the President before I

left, as I knew he would hear of my visit and of the Archbishop being entertained at the British Legation. He lives in the greatest poverty in a cellar under his Cathedral, as the Government took away his official residence from him, but this, of course, he does not mind, as he, like every other Russian Bishop, is a monk, and pledged to great austerity of life.

From Riga I went on to Esthonia and found that the financial position there is a very anxious one, perhaps more anxious than in any other of the Baltic countries. I crossed over the Gulf to Finland, through the ice fields still there, seeing seals dive from their floes as our vessel approached, and so on to Helsingfors. Finland is the one bright spot in the Baltic countries, just as Czecho-Slovakia is in the Balkans, and is marked by just the same strong Anglophile feeling and sympathy. Building is going on in all directions, and from all parts of the country one hears of industry and prosperity and increase of patriotic feeling. Apart from our English services, I had an especial interest in having the oldest church placed at my disposal for an evening service, to which about 700 Finns came to increase our congregation, and thoroughly entered into our worship, as Psalms and Canticles and hymns were printed in Finnish for their use. Great numbers of Finns, however, speak English, and it is being taught largely by Anglo-Russian refugees, and so many were able to follow not only the prayers but the sermon. The visit was in some ways an historic event, as it was the first time an English Bishop had preached to Finns for 800 years, the last one being Bishop Henry, who is now their patron saint, and who was martyred at Abo almost as soon as he began his mission. An Anglo-Finnish Society has already been formed, and I attended its second meeting, when the room was crowded to the doors, many being unable to get in, and a great many new members being enrolled at the close. I am sure it will interest my readers to know the very keen interest and sympathy which are being felt in Finland towards this country, and especially towards our Church, as they, too, have an Episcopal Church, their succession having been obtained from Sweden, and it was the Bishop himself who had placed the church at my disposal.

In Leningrad, where I was the guest of the British Mission, apart from our services at the Mission, which were extremely well attended, I made the acquaintance of the Chief Commissar, M. Weinstein by name, and found him quite agreeable and ready to give me the permission which I went to ask of him to see our English church and the buildings connected with it. It is under the charge of an official to whose care all Embassy property has been entrusted, and, accompanied by the "Agent," as the Consul-General is now called, I went carefully over that very familiar sanctuary of ours, and found, although burglars had entered it early in the Revolution, that it was very little changed and hardly at all injured. It seemed even as if

there were no dust after all these years, for books were in their places, the organ open as if it had been played the day before, all the altar ornaments in their place, and everything looking just as if there were going to be a service next day. Many things, however, I could see had disappeared from the sacristy, but on going into the chaplain's house I found that his chief articles of furniture all appeared to be there, carefully labelled, and his study just as I recollected it, pictures upon the walls, chairs in their places, and books upon the shelves. I am hoping it may be possible to secure the return of his property.

At Moscow, where I went in due course, I found, just as I had in Leningrad, that the Soviet Government is considering itself the trustee of Russia's artistic treasures. The Hermitage, at Leningrad, that far-famed collection of pictures and gold and jewelled treasures, and *objets d'art* of all kinds is, I should say, absolutely intact, and I was taken over by the Director himself. At Moscow, where this time I was allowed to visit the Kremlin and the Art Gallery, things were just as I left them as far as I could judge, but M. Weinstein had told me that his Government was particularly anxious not only to keep up the artistic traditions of Russia, but to make them more general, and so I was not surprised to see little parties of very poor children and of working people going about with lecturers to explain both the pictures and artistic furniture. I wish space permitted to describe how interesting and discerning were these lectures to those who could have little knowledge of what art really means. In Russia, however, this time I was very careful about calling on Bishops or Archbishops, or attending any services of the Russian Church, lest I should bring any of them into trouble or suspicion, for the number of exiled and imprisoned clergy and Bishops, I am told, is greater than ever.

Let me, however, though there are so many things one could describe, say a few words with respect to Leninism as a new religion, for that is what I feel sure it is going to be. It will be an irony, indeed, if that Government which has done its best to root out religion from the hearts of its people should only succeed in giving another one to the world. This is what I saw everywhere—in shops, at the opera, in railway stations and other public places, a bust or portrait or picture of Lenin. The old portraits of the Tsar, the pictures of Our Lord, of the saints, of the Holy Mother, are gone, and in their place everywhere is Lenin, always Lenin, and no one else. In one of the largest stores I saw his portrait arranged and draped in red with a light thrown upon it, and his name and date. In the great factories and workshops, I am told, also is a Lenin corner, where his portrait or bust appears with hangings of black and red and a light thrown upon it, and with some such text as "Lenin is dead, but Leninism lives." Then, too, there is his mausoleum, the large wooden erection outside the Kremlin, which is not without

some taste, and very impressive, and surrounded by guards. Every day, from five to six, a long procession enters and passes round Lenin as he lies there embalmed. There was a long queue of many, many thousands, but my arrival with the British flag on the front of the car secured my immediate entrance, and I was much impressed by all the arrangements. One goes along a long passage draped in red and dimly lighted, then descends many steps, and along another passage of scarlet, and with lights, and then enters a large space brilliantly lighted, in the middle of which Lenin's body lies, the face very wax-like in appearance, in a glass case. Soldiers are on guard, just as we have seen them at a Royal Lying-in-State, and are deeply impressive with their solemn appearance and downcast look. Men, women, and children pass all round and out in the same way they entered. A bright light burns over it by day and night, and as I left I could not but say to myself, "There is the beginning of a new religion." A strong leader, for he was that, though he failed, he has left much in the way of writings, and to whose shrine pilgrims come from all parts of the world. Already he is being considered as more than man, for no one may sit in the empty chair at the head of the Council table, which is roped off, and with the dates of the time in which he occupied it. He was more than man they are feeling already, and no ordinary man may sit in his place. Think of what this means in the way of impressing a deeply religious and mystical people like the Russians, with propaganda ever at work amongst them. Some pilgrims to his shrine will have visions in which Lenin has appeared and said this or that, and then things will happen at his shrine, and in due time cures take place there. It is a terrible thing to contemplate, the coming of Leninism—Communism in its worst and most deadly form, so different from the Communism contemplated by the first believers, in which they gave everything for the common good, for Leninism aims at taking all from those who possess and giving it to those who do not possess, and killing and starving to death those who have possessed. I can only say, "God preserve us from Leninism," but I must confess to great forebodings.

I must hurry on this account of my last official Visitation, merely mentioning Warsaw, which I took on my way to Vienna, and where I had my usual inspiring services and Confirmations for the Jews, and dined on the Sunday evening in a house which had been shelled and riddled with bullets during the Pilzudsky revolution. The balcony had been shot away and all the walls badly injured, as I have said. Some of the furniture and hangings showed still how dangerous it had been to be at all near to the President's residence. My last official ministrations were at Vienna, in the beautiful little Embassy church that we possess there, for I cannot call it by any other name, though we have only a Legation now. I was the guest of Lord Chilston, our Minister there, who read the Lessons, and attended every service and

took me out on the Sunday evening to the famous Benedictine Monastery known as Klosterberg, where the Librarian, who is next in official importance to the Abbot himself, received us, and showed us the many interesting things there, and told us of the very arduous, though by no means hopeless, conditions under which the Benedictines are now keeping their various monasteries together under the Republic, and doing their useful and valuable work in so many parishes. If I except one or two countries on the Baltic, I should say, on the whole, that things are improving in the countries I visited, and I feel much more hopeful than I did last time I was there about Russia. The peasants have made good their position of private proprietorship. The New Economical Policy which Lenin inaugurated, after confessing his failure as a Communist, is more and more promoting private enterprise. The conditions of the working classes, especially as to houses, are definitely improving, and I believe, though the Terror still persists with respect to so many of the clergy, that the Government is becoming more disposed to recognize that their religion means much to the Russian people, and that it undoubtedly helps them to be good and loyal citizens. On the morning I left Moscow I learnt that a priest in the village where some of our Staff have little country places, had, after a month's waiting, been allowed on the previous day, a Sunday, to have his religious procession, banners, and lights, out of doors while offering prayers for rain. This is a little ray of hope with which I will conclude, hoping that my readers will not be disappointed that I have not told them more of my experiences and perhaps more about our perfectly delightful English Church services, with their goodly numbers of Communicants, and the British Agent in both places reading the Lessons morning and evening, as well as finding us the room and everything else necessary for the services.

HERBERT BURY, Asst. Bishop of London,
Lately Bishop for North and Central Europe.

THE RUSSIAN ROYAL TRAGEDY.

THE poems of which the following translation has been made by Mr. Maurice Baring, were found in a copy-book belonging to the late Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, daughter of the Emperor of Russia, in her handwriting. The book was found at Ekaterinburg, and the poems were published in the late N. A. Sokoloff's detailed report, which is entitled "The Murder of the Imperial Family." There can be little doubt that the poems were composed by the late Grand Duchess. She was known to write verse, and the internal evidence, both as regards style and subject matter, seems conclusive.

The original is obviously the work of a cultured mind, but an inexperienced writer, who has nevertheless studied the best models. But the interest of these poems is other and more than literary. In commenting on them in a Russian newspaper, *Les Dernières Nouvelles*, published in Paris, a Russian critic, M. Hadasevitch, wrote as follows:—"In reading these inexperienced verses, which are truly prayers, written not to order, and hidden, perhaps, from her nearest and dearest, it is impossible not to bow down before the astonishing moral loftiness which they express. This is not 'literature'; but here, in the direct and literal sense, the victim prays for her executioners in the full and clear consciousness of what she is doing."

BEFORE THE EIKON OF OUR LADY.

Queen of Heaven and earth,
Solace of the afflicted,
Hear the prayer of sinners,
To Thee—our hope and our salvation.

We are sunk in the slough of passion,
Lost in the darkness of sin,
But . . . our country, Oh, upon her
Look down with Thy all-seeing eye.

Holy Russia, Thy bright dwelling
Has almost perished.
We call out to Thee, the Interceder,
We know of no other.

Abandon not Thy children,
Hope of the desolate,
Turn not away
From our sorrow and our suffering.

A PRAYER.

Send us, Lord, endurance,
In the day of darkness and storm,
To bear the persecution of the people,
And the pains of our Tormentors.

Give us strength, God of Justice,
To forgive our brothers' trespass,
And with Thy meekness to bear
The heavy, the bloody Cross.

And in the day of tumult,
When our enemies despoil us,
Help us, Christ, Our Saviour,
To bear the shame and the affront.

Lord of the world, God of the Universe,
Hear our prayer,
Give peace to our soul
In the dreadful, unbearable hour.

And on the threshold of the grave,
Breathe on the lips of Thy servants
The more than mortal strength
To pray meekly for their enemies.

THE OLD PATHS OF NICÆA.

By J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., PH.D., Hon. Canon of Southwark,

being a Sermon preached at All Saints', Margaret Street, on SS. Peter and Paul's Day, June 29th, 1926, on the occasion of the First Anniversary of the Westminster Abbey Nicæan Commemoration.

Each of you saith, I am of Paul, . . . and I of Cephas and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? — Cor. I, 11.

Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.—Jeremiah VI, 16.

TO rebuke the divisions of the Corinthians St. Paul confines himself to asking the single question, Is Christ divided? He does not need to write the instantaneous negative which is its one and inevitable reply. Christ cannot be divided. Then it is a glaring contradiction of the natural order that the members of the Church, which is His Body, should be divided.

Christ is not divided. According to the categories of God, that Christians are divided is a manifest impossibility, a monstrous, grievous sin, which exists, but exists only, as all the impossibilities that are sin's root and fruit exist, in the face of the Divine Order.

For the individual Christian our divisions are a catastrophe of disease. The more he lives and loves by the Gospel of Christ, the more he must rebel to end them. He can no more be patient of them than any member of a man's body can be restful when another member is in pain. He needs must labour and pray to be used by the Great Physician for their healing.

Love is the principle, irresistible and compelling, which in all ages has constrained Christian effort to achieve visible Reunion. There is no escape from the eternal law. Our divisions are a wound in the Heart of Christ. If a man be in mystic communion with God, he cannot but will to be in visible communion with his brother also.

But viewed with the eyes of men, that Christians are divided is a disaster of the first magnitude to the Church Militant.

Every age needs its particular pessimists, and the age in which we live has no special need of its own. On the contrary, we have reason to be optimistic of the progress of God's Kingdom in earth. But why has the conscience of World-Christianity been impotent hitherto to end war or to sweep away social injustice? Why does heathendom remain strong to contend against the Gospel, or does practical atheism prevail to infect Christian countries and vice to flourish in Christian nations?

Among the immediate causes of the failure to succeed, can anyone fail to perceive that it is because, though Christ is not divided, Christians are divided?

Experience of the cataclysms of the past twelve years and alarm and consternation at those present disorders which are their consequences and which threaten the social fabric, have brought home to thinking men broadcast the fact that Christian division is a danger to modern civilization. If only for practical ends, as witness that Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm of last August, which had its genesis in the 1920 Encyclical of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, the demand is insistent that the whole Christian Name should speak with one voice.

The same considerations have cleared the vision, intensified the zeal and multiplied indefinitely the number of those who labour for Reunion and pray *ut unum sint* as for an end in itself. Not to succeed is to fail. If all Christians were united and in one Church, they would be mighty to establish the Kingdom of God among men.

Repentance for the divisions which hinder its paramountcy is instinct in such documents as the Lambeth Appeal of 1920 or as Pope Pius XI.'s Encyclical of 1922, and the effort to amend has produced the many formal interecclesiastical discussions and conferences which have been held in the past six years and the agreements of which are to be summed up in the World Conference of Faith and Order next autumn at Geneva.

The question of Reunion is in the air to-day. Can it be brought to the solid earth? Can all Christians be reunited? I do not mean in the consciousness of membership in an invisible Church—for we know that every man whose heart beats to Christ and who follows the light that is in Him, is somehow knit with Him in the mystic Unity of His Church—but in the extension of a single visible Church which is known and knowable among men, which is a single family in the spiritual intimacies of which each member has a share, a single Host pressing on to the accomplishment of one purpose, a single City of God into which all men and nations enter and bring their treasures?

In the days of the Captivity the Chosen People was dispersed and broken. Its Holy City lay in the dust. Its sense of vocation, of being consecrated to God's Purpose, had wellnigh disappeared. As its exiles sat and mourned its failure and their fate by the waters of Babylon, the prophet Jeremiah stirred them to be up and to seek restoration. "Ask for the old paths," he bade them, "where is the good way, and walk therein and ye shall find rest for your souls." The Good Way—that was the direction in which in conscious union with the will of God their fathers had moved onward towards the goal of His purpose. The Old Paths, they were the statutes and ordinances delivered to them through Moses, in the forsaking which they had lost the Good Way.

In the end they obeyed the prophet's summons. The Captivity returned to the Old Paths and set their feet in the Good Way. Jerusalem was rebuilt. The divine vocation was resumed.

For every Jew of the Captivity those Old Paths of which the prophet spoke were the same. To find them, the nation must go back to the Torah and the Testimony, to the Traditions of the Fathers, to the tithing of mint and anise as well as to mercy and the weightier matters of the Law.

For divided and dispersed Christendom it is not the same. In whatever manner or degree its differentiated elements may confess their particular failures, each and all of them are confident that, in that they find Christ, they have not wholly lost the Good Way. They cannot deny their present experience. Moreover, while they agree that their Reunion in a single Church can only be achieved on the Old Paths which first were beaten by the feet of the Apostles, every one of them is convinced that the lines of its own tradition guide back to the starting point. They cannot repudiate their past.

Our differences are so extreme and are so deeply cut in mentality and conviction that their antitheses appear wellnigh irresoluble. For some on the left, the " Old Paths " show a Church which is a divine society because those who come together to form it are in Communion with God, of which the Faith and Practice are fixed only by their conscience and which would cheerfully accept of itself Khomiakov's satirical definition of the Lutheran Church—a fortuitous if providential society of good men, earnestly engaged in trying to discover the Truth, but certain that they will never find it. For others on the right the " Old Paths " show a Church which is divine because Christ created it, which is single and unique, outside the communion of which, as the only sure ark of salvation, there are no covenants of Grace, of which the Faith is precised and the discipline prescribed inerrantly by the authority of Christ Himself through the mediated channels of a Ministry in sacramental succession to His first Apostles. How can the " Old Paths " be reconciled to be the same for the Catholic and for the Protestant Modernist ?

As the Union, which was no Union, proclaimed at Florence in 1439, taught us, the wound of the daughter of Sion is not lightly to be healed with equivocal and ambiguous terms of agreement, worked out at tables of negotiation, by saying Peace where there is no Peace. None the less there must be a way to achieve the external objective Reunion of Christians. Christ is not divided. Where the Spirit lists to blow, men's hearts will crave for Reunion and in His Own Way and in His Own Time He, the Great Physician, Who never fails in any case, will appease our unhappy divisions. God prepares miracles. It is for men to be the instruments of their accomplishment.

The last wise words of Pirqe Aboth in the Talmud are, " My son, to undertake the whole work is not for you."

Let us look on to the Reunion of all Christians. So that they be true and rightful, we cannot dream of lines too large and wide for the rebuilding of external Christian Unity. Let us prepare the

ground for the edifice by labour and prayer and love. But in doing so, do not let us overlook the work, the doing of which comes to our hand, and let us do it with our might.

Where, without compromise of principle, the "Old Paths" run indubitably as the same, let us set ourselves to agree to meet with our brethren and to walk together along them.

It is a coincidence that on this Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul a year ago, by the motion of the Convocation of Canterbury and in the presence of the greater part of our English Episcopate, the Holy Liturgy was celebrated in Westminster Abbey in commemoration of the Sixteenth Centenary of the first Œcumenical Council of Nicæa. The historic interest of that event was enhanced by the participation in it not only of the Patriarch Photios of Alexandria—whom God rest—the Patriarch Damianos of Jerusalem, and the official delegates of the other particular Orthodox Churches, but by the presence at our Archbishop's invitation of Mar Shimun, the Assyrian Catholicos, the Archbishop of Upsala, and representatives of other historic Churches.

That was a happy augury. For, as was pointed out by the present Bishop of Gloucester in his inspiring Bampton Lectures of 1922, it was by the holding of the Council of Nicæa that the One Visible Apostolic Church achieved the realization of the principle of ecclesiastical Œcumenicity.[1] Except for relatively insignificant groups which soon disappeared. The decrees of its 318 Fathers were accepted by the whole of Christendom as incontrovertible, their precisions of the Faith were received as the Œcumenical Symbol and their canons were obeyed as obligatory in every Christian jurisdiction from Great Britain to the Euphrates. To-day its Creed is still the one Creed of historic Christianity, and all historic ecclesiastical polities derive through the Œcumenical policy which it regularized.

No reminder is needed that in the sixteenth century the English Church made her appeal from Rome and against Geneva to the authority of an Œcumenical Council as the supreme organ and tribunal of the Church, and in doing so claimed that in her reforms she willed only to return to the Faith, Practice and Policy of Nicæa and of the Œcumenical Councils by which its work was continued.[2]

Humanly speaking, what are the present possibilities of our agreement upon the "Old Paths" with all those who to-day accept and appeal to the authority of the Council of Nicæa?

For us Christians there have been three chief disruptions which shattered the Œcumenical Unity of Christendom achieved at Nicæa, and belong to three periods.

[1] The word "Œcumenical" has latterly been used unhappily of such gatherings at last year's Stockholm Conference. Its proper content is to denote the aspect of the Church not as all-embracing or catholic but as possessing a single organization.

[2] Explicitly of the first four Œcumenical Councils, implicitly of the first six. (See B. J. Kidd, *How can I be sure that I am a Catholic?*—pp. 17–21, 1914.)

The first was that which, in the fifth century, broke away the bulk of the Semitic and Egyptian Christendoms, but left united the Greek and Latin Christendoms, of which we form part.

The second was the Great Schism of 1054, which separated Grecian and Latin Christendom into the Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic Churches.

The third, of course, was the Reformation, which split Western Catholics into many bodies and in consequence of which our English Church became isolated, on the one hand being disrupted from Communion with the Roman Obedience, and on the other entering into union neither with any of the Protestant Churches which came into being nor with the Christendom of the East.

What are the prospects of us Anglicans agreeing with those four Christendoms as to what are the fixed lines of the "Old Paths" of Nicæa—with the Eastern Orthodox and the Separated Eastern Churches, with Rome and with the Liberal Evangelical Churches which lineally represent the Protestantism of the Reformation?

To take the natural order, and to consider the last first. Surveying world-wide Liberal Christianity, it may be said that its position in the twentieth century shows this contrast to its position in the sixteenth century. In the latter it accepted broadly the Theological standards of the Nicæan epoch without question, but went back behind it to the authority of Scripture in order to rediscover and to reconstruct the life and polity of the Church. To-day it has ceased to recognize the Bible as infallible and, in consequence, the position is reversed. Liberal Christianity, as a whole, and especially Continental Liberal Christianity, repudiates the incontrovertibility of the Nicæan precisions of the Faith as a principle. On the other hand, it appears prepared, for the practical purpose of Reunion, to consider the acceptance of much of the Church order of Nicæa, as, for example, a constitutional episcopate.

In other words, for the left wing of Liberal Christianity and for ourselves Nicæa would seem at most to offer a meeting ground not of principle but of equivocal compromise.

The Conservative currents in Anglo-Saxon Liberal Christianity are much larger and stronger than in Continental Liberal Christianity, and no happier sign of the times exists than the replacing in the past thirty years of the old social quasi-political antagonisms between Anglicans and Free Churchmen in England by intimacies, comradeship, and brotherly goodwill. That does not mean, however, that even our English Free Church brethren are ready to agree that the firm ground of their "Old Paths" is to be found by going back to Nicæa. "My skin is nearer to me than my shirt," says the proverb. They are bone of our bone. They are of our blood, our race, our mentality. They are our comrades, often our leaders in Christian enterprise. We are inspired by their zeal and by their vision. We

honour them for their achievements. We are very conscious of our need of them, and must be eager to get nearer and nearer to them. But while the present facts give reason for optimism as to our and their increasingly close co-operation in practical Christian work, they do not open the prospect of our speedy Reunion, on the basis of the Faith and Practice of Nicæa.

As for the Church of Rome, no question exists as to her "Old Paths" running through Nicæa. That, if more defined, her Faith is the identical Faith of Nicæa and that, if evolved and developed, her Church life is the identical Church life of Nicæa is her necessary fundamental position. That to go back to Nicæa is to return to her, is essential to her claim for our submission.

That by the fearless logic of her system, by her unswerving consistency in principle, by the great part that she has played in Christian history many of us should be drawn to her, is natural. We admire her, reverence her, love her. We know the treasures she possesses in her people's devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, in their love of the Saints. And we hunger to be in communion with them.

None the less, the difficulty remains. The Church, as seen by Rome at Nicæa, is not the Church, as seen at Nicæa by us. Whatever were the cross currents, we believe that when the Church of England broke with her it was to return to Nicæa, to the Church of the Œcumenical Councils. We cannot repudiate our past. We may have learnt to recognize that, as Dr. Gore has phrased it, the Papacy has played a providential part in history. We may be eager and ready to find in it a centre of unity, to accept it as "a higher command" of the Church Militant. But as we understand it, Rome's definition of the seat of supreme authority and of infallibility in the Church is an alteration of and an addition upon the Faith of Nicæa. "Probably there are but few Anglo-Catholics," writes Dr. Stone in his recent book, and he has a right to speak in that name, "who are so far inconsistent in remaining in the English Church that they are ready to acknowledge the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope."[1]

The "Conversations" of Malines have changed the atmosphere of our controversy with Rome and so have given us a great hope which is not closed by the lamented loss of Desidéré, Cardinal Mercier, and of the simple Abbé, Fernand de Portal, those apostles of goodwill to whose inspiration the Church owes a debt past expression. But again, no optimism can see more than a rainbow of our future agreement with Rome as to what are the "Old Paths" of Nicæa.

In regard, however, to the Orthodox Church of the East and to the Churches which separated from it in the fifth century, things are very different. The appeal of both is to a Nicæa which we recognize as identical with our own.

[1] *Faith of an Anglo-Catholic*, Longmans, 1926.

Of the latter, the so-called Nestorians and Monophysites, it may be said that in whatever measure their Christology was ever heretical—and recent research goes far to show that their schisms were realized more in opposition to the attempts of the Roman Emperors to byzantinize the non-Hellenic nations of the East than through theological wrong-headedness—they are probably free from Christological heresy to-day.

Thus on the one hand, in regard to the Assyrians who with their daughter Church of Malabar, are the only twentieth-century representatives of that once widespread Church of the Patriarchs of the East and Catholici of Seleucia, of whom the present Mar Shimun is the lineal successor, and which planted its missions a thousand years ago in India and China, I myself was privileged last year to submit to very competent Anglican theologians the Mappaq b'Ruha, *i.e.*, the Apology, of Mar Timotheos, their ablest living theologian, and to receive the unanimous answer that its Christology was satisfactory.

The same may be said in regard to the Monophysites, that is to say to the Jacobite Syrians, to the Copts who, with their daughter Church of Abyssinia, have been in full union with them since the sixth century, and to the Armenians who are in economic though not formal communion with both. Thus in 1922, at his own request, a Christological questionnaire was submitted by the Archbishop's Eastern Churches Committee to Mar Ignatios, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. His answers were pronounced satisfactory by the same theologians, who considered Mar Timotheos' Mappaq b'Ruha, so that, if they are endorsed by his bishops suffragan and by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, the requirement of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 will have been met, and there should be no obstacle to their accepting the offer of intercommunion which it envisaged.

It is true that from the utilitarian standpoint, the Separated Churches of the East do not bulk largely. The Assyrians are homeless and total in all at most 100,000. The Jacobites are about the same in number and are poor and depressed. In Egypt the Copts are a small minority. The Armenians probably still number from three to four millions, of whom one and a half millions are able to realize their nationality in an autonomous state—the little republic which is a member of the Soviet Union. The rest are a homeless dispersion. While, as having preserved the character of a Byzantine Cæsardom for 1,000 years, the Habash[1] Empire is of profound interest to the student, and may be at the beginning of a Renaissance under its Negus, Ras Taffari, appraised by European standards, it is, of course, only a backward African state.

But the significance of Reunion with the Nestorians and Monophysites is not to be estimated in terms of their numbers, culture, and so on. They are the remnants of once great and distinctive

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Christendoms, which, except for them, have been destroyed by Islam, which have been oppressed unspeakably, have been thrust down into ignorance and poverty, and have been massacred in recurrent seas of blood for 1,300 years. They are dear to us for the romance of their faithfulness to the Cross. They still preserve those ancient traditions and characteristics which differentiated them in the first six centuries from Graeco-Latin Christendom. They have no small contribution to bring to the reunited Catholic Church. Their Reunion with the Orthodox would stabilize Eastern Christianity and would open a door to the Conversion of Islam, to which, as possessed of the same categories of mentality, language, and life, they seem the destined ambassadors of the Cross.

Above all, it would recompense them for some of those injustices which they have suffered from Graeco-Latin Christendom. That their fourteen centuries of isolation from the rest of the Christian world should be ended must be the profound desire of us all.

If the practical statesman who concerns himself with Christian Reunion as a prophylactic against war and social disorder may be forgiven for ignoring Reunion with the Nestorian and Monophysite as of little but sentimental value, he cannot fail to attach the greatest importance to Reunion with the Orthodox.

Roughly speaking, as throughout the past millennium, whatever remains Christian in Europe, east of the line from Venice to the Baltic, still remains faithful to the Orthodox Church.

History leaves it incontestable that the splitting of East and West by the Great Schism, which culminated in 1054, not only opened the door to the spread of Islam and gave it the strength which makes it still aggressive, but retarded European progress and brought countless ills upon the Christian name.

If that division was an inestimable disaster, its repairing will be an inestimable gain.

It is true that since the dark year of 1453, when the Crescent first desecrated St. Sophia, the Orthodox Church has never been so harassed and persecuted as in the last ten years. No one can forecast, it is true, how the hundred millions of Russia will escape from that Bolshevik régime which has set itself deliberately to destroy the Christian Religion. The Greek race has been decimated in a martyrdom which is more than comparable to any martyrdom of the early Church. Not a bell calls to the Liturgy in Asia Minor, once the homeland of the Gospel. The Cross and the Christian are extirpated from the Seven Cities of the Apokalypse. The Orthodox nations of the Balkans have been liberated from Turkish helotage too recently to have caught up with Western knowledge and modern progressive ideals of Christian Service. But whether it emerge the weaker or the stronger from its present bitter trials, that the Orthodox Church must be a great, perhaps at times a decisive, factor in the complex of World Christianity, borders on the incontestable.

Accordingly, to achieve solidarity with the Orthodox Church in practical work, presents itself as a laudable, practical end to all Christians who, however much by mentality or outlook they may be impatient of the spirit of its life and traditions, realize how much help in common effort and advance Reunion with it would enable them to give and to receive. And it is thus that, in order to create and to develop brotherly relations with it, American Protestant organizations, such as the Council of Federated Churches, have devoted to it great pains and attention, which, we may indeed rightly be glad, are resulting in good will and in mutual co-operation between them and it in those fields in which their mutual co-operation without compromise of principle is possible.

For us, however, to whom, without assessing its practical consequences upon the world, the restoration of the visible Unity of the Church of Christ is a first end both of duty and desire, Reunion with the Orthodox is to be sought for its own sake ; and happily it would appear not only to be possible, more possible probably than with any other category of Christians from whom we are separated, but also in human foresight to be nearer—far nearer than it would seem to be with Rome or with any other Western Christian Communion.

For, in the first place, speaking with every caution, the examination of our respective positions leads to the conclusion that, as the Metropolitan Anthony and others have declared recently, dogmatic agreement is probably possible between the Orthodox and ourselves. In saying this, I do not mean dogmatic agreement between the Orthodox and a section of the Anglican Church—for that would be profitless for the purpose of Reunion—but between the Orthodox Church and the whole Anglican Church, as represented by the totality of its Episcopate. And I forget neither that there are questions, such as the *Filioque*, which, though they appear capable of solution without compromise on either side, present difficulty, nor that the existence among us of that liberty of thought which is a distinctive note of Anglicanism, is no small stumbling block to Orthodoxy. They ground themselves as having preserved " without addition, subtraction, or alteration," the Faith and the characteristics of life and worship of the Age of Nicæa and of those Œcumenical Councils to which throughout the sixteenth century the Church of England appealed as the standard of her Reformation, and allowing for those differences which do not " touch the Catholic Faith or any Œcumenical canon " and which, as far back as the ninth century, the Patriarch Photios declared to be wholly permissible, it would appear that, as set forth in our formularies, our Faith is the same and, as evidenced by our Sacramental system, our Sacred Ministry, and our Ecclesiastical Polity—if we do not dispute over terms—our Church life is of *pari materia* with their own.

And, secondly, the Church is an organism of Love no less than of

Faith, and Reunion is the business of the heart no less than of the head.

Accordingly, we may take encouragement at the very marvellous growth of the bonds which have always existed between Orthodox and Anglicans, but which have been fostered and developed most wonderfully by our common experiences in the past twelve years. I well remember how in August, 1912, at my last conversation with the venerable Œcumenical Patriarch, Joachim III., he observed that, before it would be possible even to approach the discussion of Reunion, the will to it must be generated in the people of the Orthodox Church and of the Anglican. Such an impulse would be irresistible.

To imagine that that will is universal and complete would be to dream deceitfully. On our side, the apathy among many who might be expected to be eager and active remains lamentable.

But in comparison with twelve years back, the number of us Anglicans, laity and clergy, who have first-hand knowledge of the Orthodox, have formed ties of personal association with them, and care greatly about them, is as hundreds to one. The goodwill, as often the keen interest of the great majority of Anglicans, has been won towards Reunion by the splendid courage and fortitude displayed by the Greeks and the Russians in the tragic persecutions which they have undergone. The names of the Martyr-Confessor Tikhon, of the Martyr Chrysostom of Smyrna, and of the brave Patriarch Meletios are familiar enough to the Anglo-Saxon public.

On their part, the Orthodox have repaid the all too little practical sympathy which we have shown them in their trials and sufferings with a grateful affection that would be astounding to anyone ignorant of the Greek or Russian genius. The name of our Archbishop of Canterbury is hardly better loved or trusted in England than it is in the Near East.

It is this mutual approach in the bonds of love which is generating the atmosphere for Reunion and upon its advance depends the realization of our hopes.

Its present fruits are to be perceived alike in the progress of theological conversations, cognizance of which is necessarily confined to the few, and in those external official and quasi-official relations between the two Churches, of which outstanding examples are familiar to everybody.

To maximize the importance of these latter would be as undesirable as wrong. But no one can mistake their recurrent and progressively increasing significance.

Admittedly no practical problem of Reunion is more thorny than that of the mutual recognition of ministries. In 1922 the Patriarch Meletios marked his short and troubled but very notable reign at Constantinople by taking the initial step in the official acceptance of Anglican Ordinations by the Orthodox. That acceptance still waits

formal completion, but the formal favourable solution of the question is presaged by the declarations of the Metropolitan Anthony and of Professor Glubokovsky last September that in their judgment the Anglican clergy should be received in their Orders.[1]

Again, the official participation in that Abbey Nicæan Commemoration, of which to-day is the anniversary, of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and of Jerusalem, of the Russian Bishops, and of other delegates from the particular Orthodox autokephalous Churches, constituted in itself an act of interecclesiastical comity and amity which had no precedent and than which none more brotherly and intimate between separated Churches can be conceived. At the same time, their use of the opportunities of intercourse and of investigation, given them by their month's stay in England, convinced our visitors for that Commemoration that our Church life presents the characteristics which justify the discussion of Reunion.

It is true, indeed, that the aged Patriarch Photios, who left England with the avowed intention of devoting his remaining days to the mission of Reunion has, to our abiding loss and sorrow, been called to his rest. But the Patriarch Meletios, whom we all know, admire and love, has been summoned from his seclusion to be his successor at Alexandria, and in his hands, and in those of our good friend, the Metropolitan Anthony, with many another, the work will go forward.

To summarize the present position, it may be said without hesitation that the ground is being so prepared by mutual knowledge, intercourse, and goodwill that the time may soon be in sight when official discussions with a view to that full dogmatic agreement without which as its necessary preliminary Reunion is impossible, may be undertaken fruitfully. Meanwhile, unless something untoward should occur, it may be anticipated with reasonable confidence that the Lambeth Conference of 1930 will witness a *modus vivendi* pending that agreement, but which, without any compromise of principle—and, for all the suggestions to the contrary, the Orthodox have hitherto made none and will make none—on either side, the Orthodox and Anglican Churches may mutually recognize each other's Church life and may so enter on the last stage of their full and complete union.

"I long to die in communion with Constantinople," Dr. Frank Weston, of Zanzibar, wrote me in a cherished letter a few months before his death. That heart's desire was not granted him, but God's Providence may vouchsafe it to us who follow him.

In conclusion, let us remember that difficulties which appear to us insurmountable are as nothing to Him Whose will it is that His Church should be one. With God all things are possible. However great, when stated in terms of the human intellect, may be the dog-

[1] The history of the matter since the opening of its investigation by the Holy Synod of Constantinople in 1902 is lucidly summarized in a brochure published this year by the Metropolitan of Athens (*The Question of Anglican Ordinations*).

matic distances which separate Christians, Love and the Divine Prayer of Christ have power to bring them into unity. The Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, whose names have been taken in these later centuries as typifying almost rival theories of Christianity, and with them all the Saints, are not divided. Their prayers are efficacious for the work of Reunion. Let us join with them and seek to be instruments in the Hands of the Great Physician, and the Schisms in His Body, the Church, will be healed, not in our way nor in our time, but in His Way and in His Time.

Though men fail Him, He never fails. Let us labour and pray and trust and love, and before we know, His work will be accomplished.

> God worketh not as man hath thought,
> And that man thinks not, God hath wrought;
> So hath each tale an ending.

THE CANONICAL POSITION IN RUSSIA.

THE documents printed below are old in a measure, but, though the recent sharpening of the confinement of the Metropolitan Sergios and the continued complete isolation of the Metropolitan Peter have led to that increased disorganization of the central administration of the Russian Church which is the first objective of the Soviet's sustained campaign of its persecution, these documents form, so to speak, the latest incident in its constitutional struggle.

To understand this it must be recalled that, (1) during the long confinement of the Patriarch Tikhon the Russian Church administration had been reduced to chaos partly by direct Bolshevik persecution and partly by the Living Church Council of 1923, which pronounced his deposition and broke away in many decisions from the Œcumenical Faith and Practice of the Orthodox Church; (2) after his release in 1923 the Patriarch's authority, which had always been paramount, was greatly enhanced, but the Bolsheviks prevented his reconstructing the ecclesiastical machine; (3) accordingly, in his testament he provided for a locum-tenency after his death, which occurred in April, 1925; (4) at least a considerable number of the Russian bishops, while declaring their repudiation of his "deposition" in 1923, repudiated his nomination of a locum-tenency as uncanonical; (5) the Council held in 1925 must not be confused with the Living Church Council of 1923, and appears to have declared its loyalty to the late Patriarch and to Orthodox Faith and Practice; (6) the authority of the Metropolitan Peter who assumed the locum-tenency under the Patriarch's testament was rejected by that Council, which he himself in turn condemned, and he has since been imprisoned; (7) under the circumstances no effective central Church administration can

exist in Russia—dioceses, or more often parishes, going their own way; (8) the canonical position is admittedly difficult, only extreme danger justifying a testamentary delegation of authority and function.

The use of the crisis made by the Bolsheviks is apparent, and the Soviet's methods are illustrated by these documents.

It is stated in the Balkans that the Pro-Synod, when it meets at Athos to prepare for the Orthodox Œcumenical Council, will invite the two sides to submit their differences to its arbitrament.

FROM THE LOCUM-TENENS, PETER OF KRUTITZ.

In the event of my inability through any circumstances whatever to fulfil my obligations as Patriarchal Locum-Tenens, I commit the performing of such obligations to the Very Reverend Sergios, Metropolitan of Novgorod. Further, if to exercise this commission be not within the power of the aforesaid Metropolitan, then the Right Reverend Michael, Exarch of the Ukraine or, if the Metropolitan Michael be deprived of power to undertake the fulfilment of my commission to him, the Right Reverend Joseph, Archbishop of Rostov, shall enter upon the fulfilment of the obligations of the Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.

But the mention of my name as that of Patriarchal Locum-Tenens in Divine Service shall remain obligatory.

(Signed by) The Patriarchal Locum-Tenens,
the Metropolitan of Krutitz,
Peter.

23 Nov./6 Dec., 1925.
Moscow.

1/14 December, 1925.

RIGHT REVEREND LORD,

I request to inform the Orthodox Hierarchs resident in Moscow (and, if it be possible, also outside Moscow) that I judge myself unable rightly to decline the temporary commission to fulfil the duties of Patriarchal Locum-Tenens under such circumstances as have arisen laid upon me on the 6th of this month of December by the Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.

I will endeavour to advise you of the date, if it become necessary and be possible, of my arrival in Moscow. Meanwhile, correspondence in reference to my function as Locum-Tenens should be addressed to me at Novgorod.

Asking your prayers, I remain your Right Reverence's humble servant,

SERGIOS,
Metropolitan of Novgorod,
Acting Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.

Printed by the Metropolitan Sergios at Novgorod.

To the Right Rev. the Bishop in temporary charge of the Diocese of Moscow, authenticated by Gabriel, Bishop of Klen, Coadjutor of the Diocese of Moscow.

R.S. Ph. S.R.

National Commissariat for Internal Affairs,

Administrative Department,

2 Jan., 1926. Examination.

No. 2/2.

These presents are to inform Gregory Yatzkovsky (Archbishop Gregorios), B. Ruckin (Bishop Boris), Mogilevsky K. (Archbishop Constantine), Pereyaslavsky D. (Bishop Vassian), Rusanov T. (Bishop Tikhon), and Simiersky V. (Bishop Vasserion), in regard to the petition received from them for consideration and authorization as to the organization of a Temporary Supreme Church Council of the Orthodox Church with its headquarters in Moscow city, in the premises of the former monastery of the Don.

No obstacle exists on the part of the National Commissariat for Internal Affairs to the proposed activity of the Temporary Council prior to its legal authorization.

Signed by Zaiev, Acting Chief of the Central Administration, Freiman, for the Administrative Department, at the office of the latter.

CONSTITUTION OF THE TEMPORARY SUPREME COUNCIL.

1. The Temporary Supreme Church Council constitutes the temporary organ of the ecclesiastical government of the Russian Orthodox Church and is in communion both canonically and in worship with the Patriarchal Locum-Tenens.

2. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will superintend all the ecclesiastical affairs of every Orthodox parish in the whole territory of the S.S.S.R., subject to the consent of the government of the latter.

3. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will superintend all matters of Doctrine and Worship, and of the Church's teaching, administration and discipline in consonance with the Word of God and ecclesiastical canon law.

4. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will have for its immediate task the arranging for the convention canonically of a Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in the next months, *i.e.*, not later than the summer of the present year, 1926, to consist of bishops, priests and laymen.

5. The Temporary Supreme Church Council of bishops will have control as to the temporary filling of diocesan thrones and as to the residence of bishops within the bounds of their dioceses.

6. The Temporary Supreme Church Council of bishops shall address the whole Russian Orthodox Church with doctrinal encyclicals and pastoral monitions and will occupy itself with the establishment of communication with the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East.

7. Having the function of pleading with the Government, the Temporary Supreme Church Council will occupy itself where it is profitable in petitioning for the mitigation of the lot of those who are condemned for ecclesiastical causes.

8. The Temporary Supreme Church Council will be responsible for its actions to the Council (*see* above, 4), and shall occupy itself with the above matters until the appointment of a new Ecclesiastical Administration by the Council.

9. The Temporary Supreme Church Council may under necessary circumstances co-opt to its personnel representatives of the clergy and laity.

(1) GREGORIOS, Archbishop of Ekaterinburg.
(2) DAMIAN, Bishop of Pereyaslav.
(3) CONSTANTINE, Archbishop of Mogilev.
(4) VESSARION, Bishop of Ulganov.
(5) TIKHON, Bishop of Ustmedvyeditz.
(6) BORIS, Bishop of Mojaish.
(7) VASSIAN, Bishop.
(8) INNOCENTIOS, Bishop of Kamen.
(9) METROPHAN, Bishop of Urazov.
(10) ITHANNIKIOS, Bishop of Tchantzev.

FROM THE ACTING LOCUM-TENENS APPOINTED BY THE METROPOLITAN PETER, TO RIGHT REVEREND LORD BISHOP AND GRACIOUS CHIEF-PASTOR AND FATHER.

In " Izvestia " of Jan. 7 of this year under the general heading, " Among Churchmen," appeared the announcement, as made by yourself, that the Supreme Church Council, presided over by your Right Reverend Lordship, was due to inaugurate its business at Moscow in the Donskoy Monastery on an unnamed date; its personnel to consist of the Right Rev. Bishops Constantine, formerly of Mogila, Boris of Mojaish, Bessarion of Ulyanov (Simbir), Damianos of Periyaslav, Innocent of Kamen, and Tikhon of Ustmedvyeditz. And further, that the administration of the Russian Orthodox Church would be the subject of that Assembly.

In view of the extraordinary importance of the communication, I decide to trouble your Right Rev. Lordship with a respectful request not to leave me for longer than the shortest time possible without information on these points.

(1) Does the statement in " Izvestia " correspond to the fact? In particular, have the above-named bishops acceded to the personnel of the Council and do they continue to remain on it?

(2) Are you and your sympathizers minded to form a special religious group, separated from our Orthodox Church, although, perhaps, not distinct from it in Faith and Practice, and after the type, for example, of the Lubensky schism in the Ukraine? Or is it the case that on your part no such division from the Orthodox Church is contemplated ?

(3) In the latter event, then, in what relation do you contemplate being towards the legal, in the ecclesiastical sense, Orthodox Russian Hierarchy, presided over by myself under the commission of the Locum-Tenens of 6/12/25, during the period until the assumption again of his responsibilities as Patriarchal Locum-Tenens by the Metropolitan Peter or the election of a new Locum-Tenens ? That is, do you contemplate acting altogether independently of our Hierarchy and without its knowledge ? Or is it the case that you have decided not to break communion with it ?

(4) If you have not decided to break communion with our Hierarchy then on what canonical principles do you justify your enterprise ? And what incontestable, canonical source can you indicate for your absolute authority in order to justify the Supreme Church Council over which you preside, as being self-initiated and self-authenticated, proceeding to separate itself from the Supreme Church Council in previous existence, or to enable the Orthodox Russian Hierarchy to maintain communion with you, and the faithful children of our Church to follow you without peril with brotherly love towards yourself and with sincere good-will towards your sympathizers. I remain your Right Reverence's humble servant,

The Acting Patriarchal Locum-Tenens,
SERGIOS, Metropolitan of Novgorod.

1/14 Jan., 1926.

To the Right Reverend Archbishop of Sverdlov, Gregory of Ekaterinburg.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

WE learn with regret that the Great Archimandrite Pagonis, who has been head of the Greek Parish of London since 1899, has decided to enter on well-merited retirement this autumn. The Archimandrite, who is a native of Smyrna, has never fully recovered from the shock of learning in October, 1922, that his mother and sisters had disappeared in the Kemalist holocaust which purged from that famous Metropolis of the Apokalypse its age-long Christian character. We learn that he will probably reside in Alexandria, the particular Church which he served before coming to London, and for the Patriarchal Throne of which he was a candidate in 1898.

Father Leluchin, Nastoyatel, *i.e.*, priest superior, of the Russian Parish of London, resigned his post in June to take up charge of the Russian Parish of Florence. Since he only came to England from Archangel in 1922 and succeeded Father Smirnoff in 1923, his work in England was less long than that of the Great Archimandrite Pagonis, but he had formed many friendships in England.

Regret at his departure was tempered by the acceptance of the invitation to succeed him which the Metropolitan Evlogie tendered to Archbishop Seraphim, formerly Archbishop of Finland. Readers of the *Christian East* will call to mind the measures taken by the Finnish Government to compel the Orthodox of Finland to sever their connection with the Russian Patriarchate, and the unsuccessful but very plucky way in which Archbishop Seraphim opposed them. The policy of the Finnish Government, which was motived by the wish that the Russian majority among their Orthodox nationals, themselves a relatively small minority in a Protestant nation, should be de-Russianized. It became triumphant last year, the Œcumenical Patriarchate having recognized the Finnish Church as autonomous and under Canon 26 of the Council of Chalcedon (454) dependent upon the Throne of Constantinople, and having consecrated bishops who accepted the anti-Russian decrees of the Government. The Archbishop had maintained an unflinching if unsuccessful passive resistance to the demand that the Finnish Church should declare itself autokephalous, contending that Orthodox canon law did not permit the severance of what was a part of the Russian Church from the Throne of Moscow without the Patriarch's consent. That is a controversy in which it would be indiscreet for Anglicans to intrude. None the less, we may join with his opponents in respecting his courage and consistency, which are good auguries for his work among the Russians in England. He was welcomed at Hull on his arrival from Riga on July 11th by representatives of the Archbishop of York, and at King's Cross by a deputation of London clergy. On July 14th he visited the Archbishop of Canterbury and lunched with him at Lambeth Palace.

The anniversary of our Association will be held on Thursday, October 14th. In the morning the Liturgy will be celebrated for it by Archbishop Seraphim at St. Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road, at 11 a.m., when the Dean of Salisbury will preach. In the evening Sir Ronald Storrs, who has recently exchanged the Governorship of Jerusalem for that of Cyprus, will preside at 5.30 p.m. at an open meeting in Sion College, when the chief speaker will be Dr. B. J. Kidd, Warden of Keble. The Metropolitan of Thyatira, who has spent the summer in Macedonia and, as we write, is in Switzerland for the Preparation Committee of next year's World Conference on Faith and Order, and probably the Metropolitan Evlogie of Paris, are also expected to take part in the proceedings.

Anent the World Conference on Faith and Order in 1927, we note with satisfaction that among the ten delegates nominated to represent the Church of England upon it the majority have made definite contribution to our movement and have good knowledge of the Orthodox Church. Among others they include Bishop Gore as leader, and with him the Bishops of Gloucester and Truro, Canon Bate, Canon Douglas, and Mr. Riley.

The Rev. P. H. Ierides, after two years at Oxford, has taken his B.Litt., and has returned to Cyprus to the church of which he is a priest, and where he will undertake an important post on the Archiepiscopal staff.

It is now ancient history that, thanks to the action of Lord Lloyd, the Egyptian Government abandoned its attempt to control the Alexandrian Patriarchal Election, and that Mgr. Meletios Metaxakis, formerly Meletios IV., now Meletios II. of Alexandria—the first of the name was the famous ecclesiastic and theologian Meletios Pegas—was chosen, on May 19th, by 138 votes, Mgr. Nicolas Evanghelides, Metropolitan of Nubia, receiving 122, to succeed the late Patriarch Photios, and, having accepted in his seclusion at Kephissia the formal invitation brought him from Egypt by the Metropolitan of Leontopolis at the head of the customary delegation, was duly enthroned, with the historic ceremonies, in the fourth-century symbolic Church of St. Sabbas, on Sunday, June 13th. His Beatitude received every mark of attention from the Egyptian, Greek and British Governments, and in reply to his enthronistics received warm congratulations from the other Patriarchs and heads of Orthodox Churches. We print elsewhere the letters which were exchanged between himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The new Patriarch has much and difficult work before him in the reorganization of the machinery of the Patriarchate, and especially since it possesses none, in the equipping it with an Organic Law. In the past few months a good beginning has been made by the formation of a register of the clergy of the Patriarchate, the jurisdiction of which extends through Central Africa.

Though absorbed in getting a grip of his particular and immediate task, his Beatitude is clearly not unmindful of the wide and general claims upon himself as the occupant of the second Orthodox Throne. We are not without expectation that he will visit England and the West next year.

Writing of Egypt, we understand that another of the invaluable Unity Conferences convened at Heliopolis—the On of Potipherah, Joseph's father-in-law—these past three autumns by Bishop Gwynne and attended by bishops and clergy of all the historic Eastern Churches, will be held this autumn. Apart from the happy atmo-

sphere of these meetings, considerable solid work has been done at them. We could wish the pages of the *Christian East* large enough for more than a notice of their occurrence.

A very distinguished British architect who has recently visited Constantinople informs us that the condition of the fabric of St. Sophia is deplorable. *The Times* published in August some photos of the tinkering which it is undergoing. Anthemios of Tralles and Ignatios built the Queen of Churches marvellously for Justinian 1,400 years ago, and in their decadence the Cæsars of Constantinople did not fail to keep its structure in altogether sound condition. In result, as Eastern Christendom was too strong to be crushed out of life even by five centuries of Turkish barbarity, so St. Sophia has contrived to survive five centuries of Turkish vandalism.

Every schoolboy ought to know the rival legends; the Greek peasant's that the Great Church's reconsecration will herald the final restoration of Eastern Christendom, and the Turkish peasant's that its collapse will bring the end to Islam. Which will eventuate? We place our confidence in the building of the Byzantines.

The Œcumenical Patriarchate has been permitted at last by Angora to produce an official monthly, *Orthodoxia*, to replace *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, which was suppressed in 1922. The magazine is necessarily edited very cautiously, but makes good reading. We congratulate its editors.

Dr. A. E. Burn, Dean of Salisbury, delivered the first of the Nicæan Lectures—founded by the Society of the Faith in commemoration of last year's Liturgy in Westminster Abbey, and to be delivered annually on June 29th—at King's College on that date, the Bishop of Gibraltar being in the chair. The subject of the lecture, which was well reported in *The Times* and is now verbatim in the press, was Eustathios of Antioch.

We rejoiced to read the splendid protest of the American bishops, backed by the *Living Church*, against the ratification of the U.S.A. treaty with Mustapha Kemal, on the grounds not only of the extirpation of the Armenians from their homeland and the Smyrna holocaust of 1922 and other of his horrible doings, but also on the ground that 30,000 Christian girls and women are still in Turkish slavery. The success or otherwise of the protest is relatively immaterial. Remarking the part which the Chester Concessions played in helping to strengthen Kemal's hand for his work, the protest was certain to annoy Big Money, and needed courage. If the French bishops had taken like action against M. Franklin-Bouillon in 1922 the face of the Near East would have been different to-day.

We who are concerned primarily with the seeking friendship with the Orthodox must none the less grieve that M. de Portal has been called so soon to follow his friend—for the closest bond united the simple Paris abbé with the Prince of the Church—Cardinal Mercier. It was my rare privilege to have been privileged with the kindness of both in these past few years. M. de Portal insisted with me at a time when I was suspicious of the Malines Conversations that I should see the Cardinal for myself, and in May, 1924, I had my first interview with his Eminence, being bidden on the Saturday on which I arrived in Brussels " à partager son repas familièrement " the next evening. In consequence I enjoyed five hours alone with him, and left quite sure that, however much he willed that I should change, he would not have me compromise on any principle. That conviction grew in the subsequent intercourse which he permitted me. It was the same with M. de Portal. He was always all eagerness to see us Anglicans reunited with Rome and, if he could have won us over by conviction on the points of difference, he would have known joy unspeakable. But he was loyal and chivalrous beyond measure in everything, and would have been unwilling to have taken what we could not give rightly and from the heart. Both Cardinal Mercier and M. de Portal were alive with sympathy for the Orthodox-Anglican friendship, and, unless I misunderstood them, were of opinion that, humanly speaking, if and when the Orthodox and Anglican Churches achieve full unity and solidarity, the problem of a General Reunion would be near solution. We are all the poorer for the loss of their presence.—J.A.D.

These words of M. de Portal, uttered at that centre of hope for Reunion, the Benedictine House of Mont César, Louvain, shortly before he passed, have been much quoted :—

" If you really desire to do something worth while for the union of Christendom, it is not enough for you who are Catholics to desire union and to work for it. You must find others who will work toward the same end, and you must find them among our separated brethren. They are to be found. All over the world there are Christians who are hungering for union. To find them out, and to attach them to yourselves in all confidence and loyalty, must be your first step. It is the best way for discovering what the difficulties really are, and for learning how the difficulties may be overcome. You can in this way create in the different Churches groups whose members will have the same desire as yourselves ; and through them and through you the points of common ground will be extended. In our own matter, if we have been able to produce results that are worth while, then next to God we owe our success to the friendship that has united Lord Halifax and myself."

The collapse of the French franc, whether its cause be over military expenditure or what not, has dragged down the drachma, dinar, etc. The consequence is that a trip to London has become a costly business for our Near Eastern friends, and but few of them have visited us this summer. Our regret for that is in a measure compensated by the fact that Dr. Chrestos Androutsos, of the University of Athens, arrived in London unexpectedly, and stayed a week, towards the end of July. We emphasize the unexpectedness of his visit because, if he had not taken us by surprise, he would have received a welcome worthy of his distinction as a theologian in Greek academic life. As it was, he was received at Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury and was entertained to meet English theologians both in London by Dr. J. A. Douglas and in Oxford at St. John's College by Dr. Leighton Pullan. Further, at Oxford, being accompanied by the Chaplain of King George of Greece, he held a Conference on the nature of the Teaching Authority in the Church with the Regius Professor of Theology (Dr. Goudge), the Warden of Keble (Dr. B. J. Kidd), Dr. Leighton Pullan, Dr. Darwell Stone, and Dr. J. A. Douglas. Remarking that in the treatise on Anglican Ordinations, which was published in 1902 at the bidding of the Œcumenical Patriarch Joachim III. and formed the initial stage in the Constantinople investigation into their validity, Dr. Androutsos asked as the first of four crucial questions whether the Anglican Church teaches an objective Faith and holds that the totality of the Episcopate has power to precise that Faith incontrovertibly, it is satisfactory to know that he expressed himself as in agreement in the matter both with those with whom he conferred at Oxford and with Dr. Gore, with whom he subsequently went over the notes of the discussion. We hope that he will come to London again very soon and continue his conversations—and also that we shall have longer notice of his advent.

Dr. W. A. Wigram, who has been Legation Chaplain at Athens since 1921, has relinquished that post, and purposes to reside in England and to devote himself largely to our movement. Again it is needless to remind the reader of Dr. Wigram's work as head of the Assyrian Mission of Help or of the part played by him in Constantinople during the War. He is, of course, a recognized authority on all things Near Eastern, civil as well as ecclesiastical, and few scholars have better knowledge of Greek places and antiquities.

The Rev. Harold Buxton left London on Sept. 8th in order to take up a position on Dr. McInnes' staff in Jerusalem. His special function will be to act in liaison with the Orthodox Patriarchate and with the representatives of the Syrian, Armenian, Copt and Habash Churches in Jerusalem. There can be no need to remind our readers

of the part which Mr. Buxton plays in our movement in general nor of his service to the Armenian nation in particular. That 150,000 of the last-named are refugees in French Syria must be an additional attraction to him. We anticipate that his stay in Jerusalem, which will be at least for a year, will be fruitful.

The Liturgy is rendered by the Orthodox in every language spoken by the Orthodox. Therefore, in itself, its rendering in English for an Orthodox congregation would be nothing. Again, the invitation of Anglicans to the Orthodox Liturgy and the presence of Orthodox at Anglican Churches has always been. But just as the sending of delegations by eight autokephalous Churches to take official part in the Nicæan Votive Eucharist in the Abbey last year constituted an unprecedented and striking act of economical acceptance of Anglican Church life, so the special Liturgy in the Chapel of Calvary, which the Patriarch Damianos arranged and the Archbishop of Jordan celebrated on the occasion of the performing of their pilgrimage vow by the members of the Third Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage, was a similar act of recognition of Anglican Church Life.

It is with deep regret that we record the death of the Rev. H. A. Boys, which took place at St. Mary Bourne, Andover, some weeks ago. Soon after leaving Cambridge, where he was a scholar of Emmanuel College, and took honours in mathematics and classics as well as in theology, Mr. Boys became English Chaplain at Patras. There he remained for some years, and laid the foundation of that deep love and intimate knowledge of the Orthodox Church which lasted throughout his long life. Any movement to strengthen the bonds which unite the Anglican and Eastern Churches was sure of his sympathy and support, and the growth of the rapprochement owes not a little to his pen. It will be remembered that he sometimes contributed to the *Christian East*—especially on matters relating to the Kalendar and a Fixed Easter, subjects which particularly interested him. R.I.P.

As we go to press we receive an advance copy of the long-expected "Report on the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem," presented by Sir Anton Bertram and Mr. J. W. A. Young, who have served as a Commission to report to the Government as to what reforms in the Patriarchate may be necessary. A preliminary glance through its 369 pages shows it to be the work of a scholarly pen, and there can be no doubt of its will to be fair. But we are convinced that the assumption on which its principal recommendation is based is fallacious and that, if adopted, that recommendation will be disastrous. We hope to discuss the Report at length in December.

THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE PROTOPOPE AVVAKUM—NON-CONFORMIST AND MARTYR.

By Sonia E. Howe.

I

SOME fifty years had passed since the False Dmitri had been carried along on the crest of a gigantic wave, only to be dashed to pieces on the rocks; since when Cossacks, robber-bands and rabble of all sorts had been cast up on the storm-beaten shore of Russian national life. Amongst all this flotsam and jetsam were also a few priceless pearls—those good men and true who became the deliverers of their Fatherland. The Troublous Times had come to an end and the young Mikhail Romanoff had been elected Tsar in 1613, but clouds still hung over the land at the commencement of the new régime. They lifted for a while when the Patriarch Philaret, the good and wise father of the mediocre Mikhail, took into his capable hands the co-rulership of the Empire. The second Tsar of the Romanoff dynasty, Alexei Mikhailovitch, came to be known as "that most gentle and most religious Tsar," yet it was during his reign that the Russian people found themselves once more in the throes of disruption.

This time the trouble did not come as a cyclone or even as a storm, nor was it an upheaval which touched merely the material life of the nation, but rather an earthquake, cleaving society asunder to its very foundation, revealing depths of spiritual life and opening up the living springs of religious feeling. Embedded in the various strata of rock and clay was discovered many a gem of surpassing beauty, the existence of which had been unsuspected, so long had it lain hidden. Now shone forth virtues bred of centuries of voiceless suffering and patient endurance. There sparkled the diamond of conviction, the blue sapphire of loyalty and faithfulness, the ruby of courageous devotion to an ideal even unto death.

This earthquake, to which one may well compare the so-called "Great Schism," and the reckless persecution which followed, produced numberless martyrs. Among these martyrs of the seventeenth century two stand out especially as shining lights—a man and a woman, the lowly-born priest Avvakum and the lady of noble birth, the Boyaryinia Morozov—both deeply religious from early youth, and both equally uncompromising in their attitude towards everything they considered false.

With the coming into power of the Romanoffs, the contemporaries of the Stuarts, a new era had opened up for Muscovy. There was a tendency to culture, a desire to break down the wall of partition between Russia and Western Europe—but it was opposed by the conservative element which objected to Polish and German influence—indeed, objected to the very presence of foreigners in their midst. In spite of opposition the Westernization was slowly getting a foothold. The Boyar Rtishtchev especially did his utmost to introduce into Moscow, much against its will, education and the means for providing the same. In Kiev, which was then under Polish jurisdiction, education according to Western standards was already flourishing, and it was there that Rtishtchev found the men who were able and willing to establish centres of intellectual light in his own dark Muscovy.

Two men became the leaders of this new movement—the cultured priest Slavinitski, who founded in Moscow the Graeco-Latin Slavonic College where " The Wisdom of the Greeks " as well as Latin Rhetoric and the principles of theology were taught; and Simeon Polotski, a writer of religious as well as secular drama, in every respect a versatile and cultured man who acted as tutor to the children of the Tsar.

The subjects taught in the College were new to the Russians, whose knowledge in the seventeenth century with regard to most subjects seems to have been extremely limited. The French Captain Margaret, whose work on the events in Russia during the Period of Trouble is a most valuable and reliable source of information, in one of his writings draws attention to this intellectual darkness: " So great is the ignorance of the Muscovites that not a third of them can be found who even know the *Pater Noster* and the *Credo*. It is safe to say of the masses that their ignorance is the mother of their piety; they despise learning and especially Latin. They have no schools, no universities, and the only teaching is done by priests who instruct youths in reading and writing, and only very few do that."

The imparting of exotic wisdom was soon faced with bitter opposition on the part of the exponents and guardians of the national home-grown wisdom. The students even of the College were divided in opinion. Some of them enthusiastically welcomed and upheld the Kievite teachers, considering as " idle talk " all the teaching of the two famous Deans or Protopopes Bonifatiev and Neronov, confessors of the Tsar. In fact, the students went so far as to accuse these highly-respected clerics of being " unable to teach," as " themselves utterly ignorant." Others again confessed privately to the Deans that they were kept in the College against their own will and protested that no good could come of the teaching of the Kievite monks, whose doctrines were dangerous to

the soul, for in their eyes the learning of Latin was the first step in the wrong direction. They scented heresy in the humanistic teaching of Slavinitski and his colleagues.

These priests who had come in answer to the warm invitation of the Boyar Rtishtchev were not slow in pointing out that the ceremonial of the Muscovite Church was full of errors and inaccuracies which they put down to the ignorance of the clergy of whom the English Ambassador, Giles Fletcher, had written that they were all " voyde of all manner of learning, so are they warie to keepe out all means that might bring any in as fearing to have their ignorance discovered . . . "

The Russian priests from the Ukraine or Little Russia differed in many ways from their Muscovite brethren: for instance, they made the sign of the cross with three fingers instead of with two, as was customary in Great Russia at that period; the way in which they read the prayers was different, also they preached sermons, a thing hitherto unheard of, and, in support of these practices, they cited the authority of the Byzantine Church or that of Little Russia.

The observant English Ambassador substantiates this absence of preaching.

"As for preaching," he writes, "the words of God, or any teaching or exhorting such as are under them, they neyther use it nor have any skill of it: the whole clergie beyng utterlie unlearned, both for other knowledge and in the word of God. Onely this manner is twise every yeere, viz.: the first of September (which is the first day of their year) and on St. John Baptist's day to make an ordinarie speach to the people, every metropolite, archbishop, and bishop, in his cathedrall church, to this or like effect:—That if anie be in malice towardes his neighbour, hee shall leave off his malice: if any have thought of treason or rebellion against his prince, he beware of such practise: if he have not kept his fasts and vowes, nor done his other deuties to the holie Church, he shal amend that fault, etc. And this is a matter of forme with them, uttered in as many words and no more, in a manner, then I have heere set down. Yet the matter is done with the grace and solemnitie, in a pulpit of purpose set up for this one acte, as if he were to discourse at large of the whole substance of divinitie. At the Mosko, the emperour himself is ever present at this solemne exhortation."

The learned Monks considered this Muscovite Church as having fallen away from the true faith, while the Muscovites, on their side, considered the Kievites little better than Poles or Roman Catholics. In fact, in the eyes of all the people of Great Russia, the guardianship of the true Faith had long since passed from Byzantium to Moscow; no longer was it Santa Sophia of Constantinople, but the Uspenski Sobor of Moscow that was their centre of orthodoxy.

Apart from this, the view was generally held that "each people has its own fatherland and its own laws which are better not transferred to other countries."

A foreigner then residing in Moscow writes apropos of this exclusiveness: "The Russians would sooner die than let their children go into foreign lands unless coerced by the Tsar. They believe that Russia is the only Christian Empire, that all other lands are inhabited by pagans or unbaptised people, who do not believe in the true God, and that the souls of their children would be for ever lost if they were to die in a strange country amongst unbelievers; that those who die in their homeland go direct to Paradise, and that such seclusion was imperative in order to keep people out of danger of contamination."

Bitter antagonism sprang up between the Cathedral clergy of Moscow and the Kievite monks, yet both had the same object at heart—the reformation of the Church. Long before the arrival of the Kievite monks, the Deans, many of whom were keen and earnest men, had frequently met together to discuss the needs of the Church. The leaders of this movement were Bonifatiev, Neronov, and Nikon the Metropolitan of Novgorod, the Tsar's favourite. These men had first suspected that certain Byzantine priests who, at that time, visited Moscow, were having a pernicious influence in Moscow. When, however, the Patriarch of Jerusalem himself pointed out to the Patriarch Joseph and to Alexei Mikhailovitch discrepancies in the ritual, the Tsar sent a priest to visit the Eastern Churches in order to study the matter on the spot, and several Councils were even held in Moscow to discuss the question.

Meanwhile, the zealous Protopopes set to work to try to revise the ceremonial in their own way; their idea was to go back to a Past within their own ken, and no further—namely, that of early Muscovite days.

It was when matters stood thus that the priests from Kiev, a few of whom were now established in Moscow, suggested a return not to Russian antiquity, but to universal antiquity. Thus two parties were formed, both with the same end in view, but working from different starting-points. A clash was inevitable.

The Kievite monks believed in the efficacy of science and education and in the necessity for getting acquainted with Western thought. They urged the study of history in order to find out what were the universal practices and thus solve the knotty problems. The Protopopes, on the contrary, turned their backs in disgust upon all such innovations: faith alone was sufficient, knowledge was dangerous. As to the study of Church history, they were satisfied with that contained in their own ecclesiastical literature, and in the Lives of the Saints. What could they learn from the experience of other Churches?

At the commencement this antagonism between these two schools of thought was purely academic, but when Nikon, the new Patriarch, owing to Slavinitski's influence actually altered the ceremonial, open war broke out. In reply to the Kievites' accusation of ignorance, the Cathedral clergy retorted with heresy.

While the Patriarch Joseph lived, the influence of the Protopopes prevailed, and after his death, when Nikon was elected to fill that important position, it looked for a moment as if the Conservative party was to gain still more in power. As Metropolitan of Novgorod, Nikon had been a zealous member of the circle of the Muscovite Reform Party, but, unfortunately for their cause, he was of too ambitious and autocratic a nature to ask the assistance of his old friends and decided to carry out the reforms unaided. In addition to this, he was rapidly changing his views, or, as a result of his intercourse with Greek ecclesiastics on matters of ritual and the customs of the Eastern Churches, doubts had arisen in his mind as to the soundness of his former position. The doubt thus implanted in his mind inclined him to listen to the voice of the newcomers from Kiev, especially to that of Slavinitski, in whom common sense, sound learning and true spirituality were harmoniously blended. The monk issued not only theological but also scientific books and translated even works on archæology and medicine. From being an opponent of the learned monk, Nikon soon became his friend and adopted his point of view, deciding to bring the experience of the universal Church to bear upon that of Russia. With regard to the making of the sign of the cross, he discovered that it was the using of two fingers which was contrary to universal practice and therefore an innovation even in Russia. He carefully compared the MSS. in the Patriarchal Library with the old Greek and Slavonic MSS. and found only too many discrepancies between them. He made Slavinitski head of the Imperial printing establishment, discharged all the professional correctors of books and instituted instead a Commission of Revision.

All this branded Nikon as a traitor in the eyes of his former friends. They called him a renegade and heretic, for not only had he made common cause with those whom he had shortly before accused of heresy, but was he not even now ready to introduce into the Church, on his own account, those very things which he had so recently condemned?

The hearts of the eager and sincere, but ignorant, Protopopes grew heavy with apprehension. That their fears were not groundless became apparent only too soon. During the Lent of 1653, the Patriarch issued an order that from henceforth certain customary prostrations were to be omitted on Quadragesima Sunday and that the sign of the cross was always to be made with three fingers. The Conservative Party, "Old Believers" or "Old Ritualists,"

as they came to be called on account of their passionate adherence to Muscovite traditions, feeling that this was but the thin end of the wedge, immediately drew up a protest. The Tsar, Alexei Mikhailovitch, however, who was absolutely under the influence of the Patriarch, took no notice of it.

Undaunted by this discouragement and strengthened by the conviction that theirs was a righteous cause and that the foundations of their religion were being shaken, these Old Believers refused to comply with the new order and, as at first no measures were taken to enforce it, it seemed as though they would carry the day. Nikon, however, was merely biding his time; he could not forgive his former friends for thus flouting his authority and very soon war, bitter and obdurate, broke out between the two parties, "no compromise" being the watchword of both. The points on which they differed were really trifling in themselves, and the bitterest strife was waged about such minutiæ as the crossing with three instead of with two fingers, or as the repetition of "O Lord, have mercy," instead of "Lord, have mercy," the repetition of three Hallelujahs instead of two, and the spelling of the name of Jesus—Iisus instead of Isus. As to signing oneself with the cross, it was so much a part of their very natures, of every act of daily life, that only when this is realised, can we understand the intensity of feeling aroused by the alteration commanded. To quote Fletcher:—

"The other ceremonies of their Church are manie in number: especially the signe of the crosse, which they set up in their high wayes, in the tops of their churches, and in every doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheads and brests with great devotion as they will seeme by their outward gesture. When they rise in the morning, they goe commonly in the sight of some steeple that hath a crosse on the toppe: and so bowing themselves towards the crosse, signe themselves withal on their foreheads and brests. And this is their thanksgiving to God for their nighte's rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, 'Aspody Pomeluy,' or 'Lorde have mercie upon me.' When they sitte downe to meate, they rise againe from it, the thanksgiving to God is the crossing of their foreheads and brests. Except it be some few that adde, peradventure, a worde or two of some ordinarie prayer, impertinent to that purpose. When they are to give an oath for the deciding of anie controversie at lawe, they doe it by swearing by the crosse and kissing the feet of it, making it as God, Whose name only is to be used in such trial of justice. When they enter into any house (where ever there is an ikon hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the crosse and bow themselves to it. When they begin any work, bee it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer to God for good speede of

their businesse. And thus they serve God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: not understanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it.

And yet they thinke all strangers Christians to be no better than Turkes in comparison to themselves (and so they will say), because they bow not themselves when they meete with the crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe maner is."

Nikon and his party who were supported by the Tsar speedily became the persecutors, and the "Old Believers," obstinate non-conformists to new regulations, became the persecuted. Nikon's opportunity to make his power felt came only too soon. One of his antagonists was falsely accused of irreverence to a sacred Ikon, whereupon the Patriarch called a Council in order to give an air of legality to the proceedings and had him condemned and sentenced to severe punishment. This opened the breach all the wider —the laity stepped in, siding almost to a man with the Old Believers against those whom they felt to be undermining their religion; for they were convinced that, although these reforms seemed only to concern outward forms, they were in reality a subtle attack on the inward spirit. There was a blind and desperate clinging to the past, and a terrible fear lest salvation should be endangered by the impious innovations. Neither the ecclesiastical party which imposed the reforms nor the laity and clergy which opposed them were able to distinguish between essentials and unessentials; both sides showed themselves equally fanatical. The Patriarch, secure in the knowledge that he had the ear of the Tsar, with whom he was practically co-ruler, felt well able to enforce his will. It was this blending of Church and State which gave him the power he now so ruthlessly applied, relentlessly inflicting the severest punishment on those who had the audacity to withstand him.

The first victim to be sent into exile was the Tsar's Confessor, Neronov, with the result that some of the more timid priests began to think of compromise, while others became all the more bold.

The Patriarch himself was too ignorant of Church History to realise the fact that even the most unreasonable idea arising from religious conviction if subjected to persecution can become a living power. It was his persecuting method of enforcing reform upon an unprepared people which gave such undue prominence to the details of that reform.

The position of the Reformers had been immensely strengthened by the pronouncement of the Patriarch of Antioch and the Metropolitan of Nicea, both of whom attended the Council called by Nikon. The Patriarch made the following statement regarding the manner of making the sign of the cross: "We have from the beginning accepted the faith, as handed down to us by the Holy

Apostles and by the Fathers and as confirmed by the Œcumenical Councils, which includes the tradition that the sign of the cross must be made with the thumb and first two fingers of the right hand, and if any orthodox Christian doth not this according to the tradition of the Eastern Church, which has been since the beginning of the world, he is a heretic . . . and we count the same to be excommunicated from the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost and to be anathema." To this the Metropolitan of Nicea added the words: "Upon him who doth not cross himself with three fingers rests the curse of the 380 Holy Fathers who gathered at the Council of Nicea and other Councils."

The ranks of the opponents to ecclesiastical reform were swelled by numbers of those whose very ignorance made them suspicious of any innovation. It was at this juncture, however, that to the Old Believers arose a leader in the person of the Protopope Avvakum, a man of blameless life, renowned for his piety, spiritual power and strength of conviction—one whose heart was on fire for the truth and who possessed to a remarkable degree the gift of oratory.

The son of a village priest, Avvakum became a priest himself when twenty-three years of age. His father had been a drunkard, but his mother was a pious soul who strictly kept the rules of the church as to "fasting and prayer and taught her son the fear of God." As a youth he spent much thought on the religious life and came to the conclusion that the best way to serve Christ was not to flee from the world and shut oneself behind the walls of a monastery, but to go bravely into the world, there to combat manfully against its allurements, to uphold the weak and to help them to escape from sin.

Thus at the time of his ordination he had an ideal which he rigorously carried out. He set his parishioners the example of an upright and godly life, and what he demanded of others he exacted of himself. In his autobiography he mentions a moment when "the physician himself fell ill," that once within him "burned the fire of unholy passion," but the tempted man took drastic measures to quench this flame—he stretched his hand over three burning wax-tapers and held it there until the physical pain had driven out the desire of the flesh. Yet, though so severe towards himself, he was lenient towards others, understanding their frailty because conscious of weakness in himself.

Only too soon, however, he found out that to be true to his ideals meant difficulties and suffering, for, as a faithful shepherd, he had to stand up for the members of his flock. Once, for instance, when upbraiding and pleading with an official who had abducted the daughter of a widow, he was nearly beaten to death in his own church by the offender. On another occasion one of the officials whom he had rebuked bit off his finger and afterwards tried to shoot

Avvakum. After many other persecutions he was driven to leave house and home and with his wife and new-born baby went to Moscow to seek redress. There he met the Tsar's Father-Confessor Neronov, who befriended him and even told the Tsar about him. Avvakum had, however, to return to his parish where his life was one of perpetual difficulty with the brutal officials, but full of blessing to the poor. His blameless life, his championship of the down-trodden, his power of prayer and his impassioned preaching soon made him famous.

OUR BOOKSHELF

I. TWO BOOKS BY ARSENIEFF, A RUSSIAN MYSTIC.

By the Rev. R. M. French.

1. *Mysticism and the Eastern Church.*
2. *Die Kirche des Morgenlandes; Weltanschauung und Frömmigkeitsleben.*

The first of these books is an English translation of *Ostkirche und Mystik*, published by the Student Christian Movement, with an introduction by Evelyn Underhill.

Each of them is small in size and price; the second costs but 1 mark 25, from Gruyter & Co., Leipzig, and the first in its English dress is 5s., but to read them is to pass into an atmosphere which will attract and perhaps in a measure surprise, even those who know something of Eastern Orthodoxy.

Both, but especially the second of the two, may be recommended to those who desire to become more intimately acquainted with the inner life and spirit of the Orthodox Church.

In such an enterprise, Prof. Nicholas Arsenieff is well qualified to be a guide. A word or two about his career may be acceptable here. His father was a Russian diplomat, and he was born at Stockholm in 1888. He was educated at Moscow and later in Munich and Berlin. At the outbreak of the War in 1914 he resigned his recent appointment of lecturer in the History of Western European Literature at the University of Moscow, to work with the Russian Red Cross. After being twice imprisoned by the Bolsheviks he was finally released and became Professor of Romance Philology in the University of Saratof. In 1920 he was offered the Chair of Comparative Religious History in the same University, but renewed persecution by the Soviet authorities drove him out of Russia into Germany, where, besides occupying other academic positions, he became, and still is, lecturer in the Russian language at Königsberg University.

The scope of Arsenieff's reading and knowledge is enormous, and so far as a Western may be permitted to judge, his perception of the spirit of Orthodoxy is intimate and true and inspired by real

devotion. The two books before us cover to some extent the same ground, and have in fact some actual matter in common. But *Mysticism and the Eastern Church* is of wider scope, and after 60 pages out of 150 passes beyond the bounds of the Orthodox world into the extensive field of Mysticism as a whole. Indeed, so wide is the writer's purview that he has space to say but little of any part of it. The reader is whirled through a series of names and quotations of mystical writers over a vast extent of time and place. The process can do little but jog the memories of those who are as deeply read as the writer himself, and leave the rest of us rather breathless and bewildered. But we are grateful, indeed, for the glimpse into the spirit of Orthodoxy given us in the first part of this book, and more extensively in *Die Kirche des Morgenlandes*.

Arsenieff's purpose in these brief pages is not, of course, to set forth the dogmatic position of the Eastern Church, but to convey a general impression of its life, based upon the manifestations of its spirit. These manifestations he classifies as follows: (1) Its Worship, and especially the Liturgy. (2) The dogmatic and ethical writings of its greater thinkers. (3) The great tradition of Eastern asceticism, as represented by the Philocalia. (4) The lives of the Saints. (5) Orthodox Church art, especially the art of the Ikons.

The "nerve," so to speak, of the Eastern Church is faith in the glorifying and sanctification of the creature through the power of the risen Lord. The glorified Christ, His resurrection, His victory over death, the future (yet already bestowed potentially) redemption of the whole creation from the bonds of death, that is the central experience of the Eastern Church. And Arsenieff would have us see in this a more marked survival of the piety of the primitive Church, and a comparison, if not a contrast, with the emphasis upon the Passion which has characterized the Catholic West. It is interesting in this connection to compare the words of Dom L. Beauduin. "Par son triomphe définitif sur la mort, le Christ-Homme est devenu le contemporain de toutes les générations . . . Corps et âme, hommes et choses, temps et éternité, il vivifie tout de la plénitude de la vie divine dont il surabonde . . . Cette dévotion au Christ triomphant qui remporte aujourd'hui pour notre race la suprême victoire, cette piété ardente du peuple racheté saluant dans son Chef vainqueur la nouvelle humanité, ces joies pascales enfin, sont-elles encore les nôtres? De tous les mystères de la vie du Sauveur, celui-ci n'est-il pas le moins médité et le moins vécu chez nous? Dans la contemplation de la vie du Christ les fidèles s'arrêtent de préférence aux événements douloureux, et la Croix en Occident apparaît plus souvent entourée des instruments de supplice que des trophées de la victoire . . . Or nos Frères séparés d'Orient donnent au mystère de la Résurrection une place fondamentale dans leur culte et leur piété, c'est en toute réalité et pour employer notre langage, la grande dévotion de l'Orient." (Irénikon, No. 1, p. 11.)

It is not a matter of slurring over or minimizing the Passion either in Christ or in the Church. Orthodoxy, as Arsenieff shows it to us, is clear that there is no sharing in the glory without a sharing in the Cross, that the two are inseparably connected. And the present experiences of the Russian Church throw the truth into clear relief.

Nor is it a superficial ignoring of the fact of sin. The joy of Easter implies strenuous moral effort. It is a question of relative emphasis which may easily be overstressed, but it is a "contrast which in a certain restricted sense can be maintained. The Eastern Church concentrates her whole fervour upon the glory of the risen Lord. The radiance of His transfigured life. The primitive joyful, mystical, and at the same time eschatological realism here appears in all its force and significance. Death *is* at the present moment already conquered, the relentless cosmic laws are suppressed, the power of corruption and sin are destroyed, the whole world and our bodies are *in spe, in potentia* already partakers of eternal life. This spirit, this triumph, this joy of victory pervade, for example, all the resounding anthems of the Eastern Church's year." (*Mysticism and the Eastern Church*, p. 31.)

What then has become of the traditional Slav gloominess, so often spoken of and associated with Russian novels? Do the two throw each other into relief—the "Christos Voskrese" and the "Gospodi pomului"—the eternal truth and the present experience, while in worship the former claims the victory? And have we here the root of that engaging simplicity and homeliness of Orthodox worship which charm us so and make us feel that when the Orthodox enters his church—he does become in heart as a little child and bears with him the spirit of the Western carol?

At least it is clear that the "Christos Voskrese" represents something fundamental in Orthodox normal experience of truth. It is an individual share, intensely real, if generally undefined, in that living experience of the whole body, which is so vital a conception to Eastern Orthodoxy, and in the realm of dogma sometimes tempts one to suppose that the Orthodox idea of authority is nothing more nor less than the momentum of corporate experience in time.

Prof. Arsenieff in each of these books tells the same story to illustrate the instinctive response of the Russian heart to the fact of the Resurrection, and it is worth transcribing again.

"In a large public assembly hall (the Polytechnic Museum) in Moscow, a public lecture was given by Comrade Lunacharsky, the Bolshevist Commissary for Popular Education, attacking the 'obsolete faith.' This faith, he said, was a product of the Capitalist class, but was now completely overthrown; its nullity was easy to prove. The address seemed very successful, and the lecturer was so pleased with his own eloquence that, feeling complete confidence in himself, he brought it to an end by inviting a discussion of his theme, but with the stipulation that no speaker was to occupy more

than five minutes. Anyone who wished to address the meeting was to give him his name. There came forward a young priest with a close-cropped beard, of homely appearance, shy and awkward—a typical village priest. Lunacharsky looked down at him scornfully: "Remember, not more than five minutes.' 'Yes, certainly I shall not take long.' The priest then mounted the platform, turned to the audience, and said: 'Brothers and sisters, Christos voskrese! Christ is risen!' (The solemn Easter greeting exchanged by all on Easter night.) As one man the great audience answered: 'Voistinu voskrese! Verily He is risen' (the usual reply). 'I have finished, I have no more to say.' The meeting was at once closed. All Comrade Lunacharsky's flowery eloquence availed him nothing." (*Mysticism and the Eastern Church*, p. 43.)

There is a useful list (for readers of Russian and German) of Prof. Arsenieff's works in the Introduction to *Mysticism and the Eastern Church;* and *Die Kirche des Morgenlandes* contains valuable appendixes on the bibliography of the subject, and the present condition and distribution of the Orthodox Churches, in which the author ventures upon some statistics.

One must be allowed to protest against the transliteration of the Russian "b" by "w" in English books. It is a reasonable approximation in German, but a quite different sound in English, where, moreover, "v" medially and "f" finally are ready to hand to express the value of the Russian letter.

II. THE GEORGIANS AND ARMENIANS.

Trans-Caucasia.

By the Rev. Harold Buxton; 3/-; *Faith Press.*

"There is among us a good deal of curiosity about Trans-Caucasia and its peoples, yet the desired information is not easily accessible. Almost daily one is accosted with enquiries about the Georgians, the Armenians or the Tatars—about their several histories—about their present relations with Soviet Russia. This little book is merely an introduction to the standard work, which (there is reason to hope) will be given us in the near future." Such is the modest description Mr. Buxton gives of his work and of his credentials to undertake which there can be no question. One of a family of brothers who have a passion for the Near East, have long familiarity with its atmosphere and, though each, as it were, in intersecting different planes, has played a part in shaping its recent history he has admittedly *flair* for the Near East as well as considerable first-hand knowledge of all its peoples and problems. In regard to the special subject of his present book, he travelled with that inspiring personality, his brother, the Rt. Hon. Noel Buxton, in the Caucasus in 1913, served there with a Hospital Unit in 1916 and, after having been one of the most efficient factors in Near Eastern Relief Work, visited it again in 1921 to study famine conditions

and the operations of the Lord Mayor's Fund in Georgia, Azerbaijan and the Armenian Republic. That the book would be full of information, colour and personal observation, and would be very readable was to be expected by all who know the author and his writings. His own designation of it as an Introduction is, indeed, correct, but it is one not in the sense of being a compendium gathered from existing publications but in the sense of being the exposition of one who has first-hand knowledge of his subject. Moreover, without being ambitious, it compares in plan with the best kind of text book. Thus it opens with a concise and not over-weighted but adequate historical summary, has a bibliography, chronological tables of current as well as recorded events, all the necessary maps and just the very photos to give an impression of Georgian and Armenian types. Accordingly, while we welcome it as a real contribution to knowledge, we welcome it almost as much as the very book to put in the hands of those who imagine the Georgians to be a species of Yankee.

All who desire a *coup d'œil* of the Eastern Christian complex should read it.

Trans-Caucasia, the band of land between the Black Sea and the Caspian, with Russia in the North and Turkey and Persia to the South, has been a natural cock-pit of Asia and Europe since Empires began and in consequence is more a macédoine than Macedonia itself. Its three chief elements of population—there are plenty of others—were given by the dubious Russian pre-War census as Georgians, Russians and Tatars, 6½ millions in all, of which the Tatars totalled half. But at best the Tatar remains a veneered Asiatic with only race-consciousness and rudimentary racial culture, and the moiety of a Tatar has never equalled a Georgian or Armenian.

While if there is a Tatar race, there has never been a Tatar nation, as soon as history begins we find the Georgian and the Armenian each with a strong and mutually distinct national consciousness and each with clear-cut national characteristics. Except in rare centuries, neither has ever known national independence. Great Empires, from the Persian to the Russian, have set themselves to assimilate them and to that end have applied instant or inexorable pressure to denaturalize them. Successive, periodic floods of barbarians—the Tatars are a vestige of one such—have swept over them and threatened to exterminate them and their back-wash has settled down in the country. In result they are analogous to the Jew, *i.e.*, something of a *dispersion*, though still in their own homelands. They have been driven into themselves and, to preserve themselves, have in evolution intensified their contrasts with those who ruled or massacred them. To-day they are like St. Helena and Easter Island, strong, unbreakable peaks, jutting up in an ocean of other nationalities, the survivals of once large and fruitful

civilizations, and are now extinct except for them which were essentially distinct in themselves as any that the Old World has known. Even their national physiognomy may be said to bear traces of their struggle for existence.

Thanks to the stream of popular books which have appeared as an aftermath of the War, most people are beginning to know something of the Armenians, though we take leave to doubt whether, as is generally said as research proceeds, either their language or their culture will be found to be Indo-European in its bedrock, and we anticipate that they will some day be shown to be an ancient indigenous race, in which Indo-Aryan elements have been superimposed, as were the Latin upon the Anglo-Saxon in the English.

However that may be, the Georgians are certainly the representatives of a race which was in Trans-Caucasia when the Hittites flourished to their South. Their language has kinship with no language spoken or extinct, and their customs and traditions are at bottom altogether their own. Both Georgians and Armenians have made—and despite all the circumstances are making—large contributions both to history and to civilization. Both accepted Christianity in the first centuries and the national Christianities and Churches of both have been always peculiarly national—the preservative and vehicle indeed of their respective nationalities more peculiarly than has the national Christianity and Church of any other nationality.

To preserve himself against byzantinization, the Armenian joined the Monophysite schism, but the tangled story of Constantinople and of Islam can never be plain until the Armenian thread in it is gripped. The Georgian remained "Orthodox"—his Ancient Church has only reasserted its autokephaly as against Moscow in 1918—but he has always been and remains a distinctive factor in the Orthodox World. What is the Georgian and what is the Armenian part in Byzantine history and what is the Armenian and what is the Georgian contribution to modern culture remain to be discovered. That both have been very great is evident already from the work of modern, though withal prejudiced, Byzantinists such as Diehl or from that of specialists in the origin of Christian art such as Strzygovski; *e.g.*, the best of the marvellous and modern orfèvrerie which has been and is passed as French is in fact Armenian.

Swift-witted, romantic, musical, poetic, artistic in their respective genius and quite liberty-loving in their respective stubborn, pugnacious fibre, but in mutual contrast in history, temperament and all that makes up nationality, the Armenian and Georgian nationalities are worth knowing, each for itself. But for the lover of the Christian East they are a fascination.

Pending those bigger books of which Mr. Buxton forecasts—may he be justified—the speedy arrival, his own will serve us to go on.

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PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

Ὀρθοδοξία. The Phanar, Constantinople.

Χριστιανικὴ Θέα. Athens.

Ἑκκλησία. The Patriarchate, Alexandria.

Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Φάρος. The Patriarchate, Alexandria.

Καθ' Ὁδόν. The Patriarchate, Jerusalem.

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